

35 CENTS
A COPY

LIBERTY

WASHINGTON
D. C.

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



COPYRIGHT BY DR. ERNEST N. KYDER

J. L. G. FERRIS, ARTIST

THE FIRST SERMON ASHORE AT PLYMOUTH

These Pilgrim folk of long ago were not unmindful of the blessings and protection of Providence as they established a foothold on the shores of the New World. Their minister offered prayer and preached his sermon without benefit of church, pulpit, or pews.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

*of the International
Religious Liberty Association*

We believe in religious liberty, and hold that this God-given right is exercised at its best when there is separation between church and state.

We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to rule in civil things; and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful and willing obedience of all.

We believe in the individual's natural and inalienable right of freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, to practice, and to promulgate his religious beliefs, or to change them according to his conscience or opinions, holding that these are the essence of religious liberty; but that in the exercise of this right he should respect the equivalent right of others.

We believe that all legislation and other governmental acts which unite church and state are subversive of human rights, potentially persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of church and state; and therefore, that it is not within the province of human government to enact such legislation or perform such acts.

We believe it is our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent the enactment of legislation which tends to unite church and state, and to oppose every movement toward such union, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

We believe that these liberties are embraced in the golden rule, which teaches that a man should do to others as he would have others do to him.

International Religious Liberty Association
6840 Eastern Avenue
Takoma Park, Washington 12, D.C.



**35 CENTS
A COPY**

LIBERTY

WASHINGTON
D. C.

Editor

IN THIS ISSUE

ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY 5 J. A. Mackay, Ph.D.

5 J. A. Mackay, Ph.D.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

SCHOOL TENSION IN CANADA 8 George A. Cornish, Ph.D.

THE MEANING OF SEPARATION 11 Leo Pfeffer
OF CHURCH AND STATE

THE REASON FOR THE "NO ESTABLISHMENT" CLAUSE 15 Alvin W. Johnson, Ph.D.

15 Alvin W. Johnson, Ph.D.

INDIA AND THE RIGHT TO CHANGE RELIGIOUS FAITH 18 J. F. Ashlock

18 J. F. Ashlock

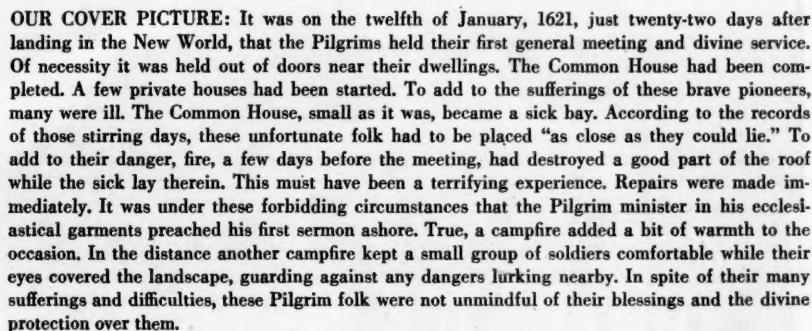
FIGHTING AN UPHILL BATTLE 20 William A. Cook, Ph.D.

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT 23 F. C. White, B.D.

AS THE EDITORS SEE IT 25

BOOKS 29

IT SO HAPPENED 32



★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

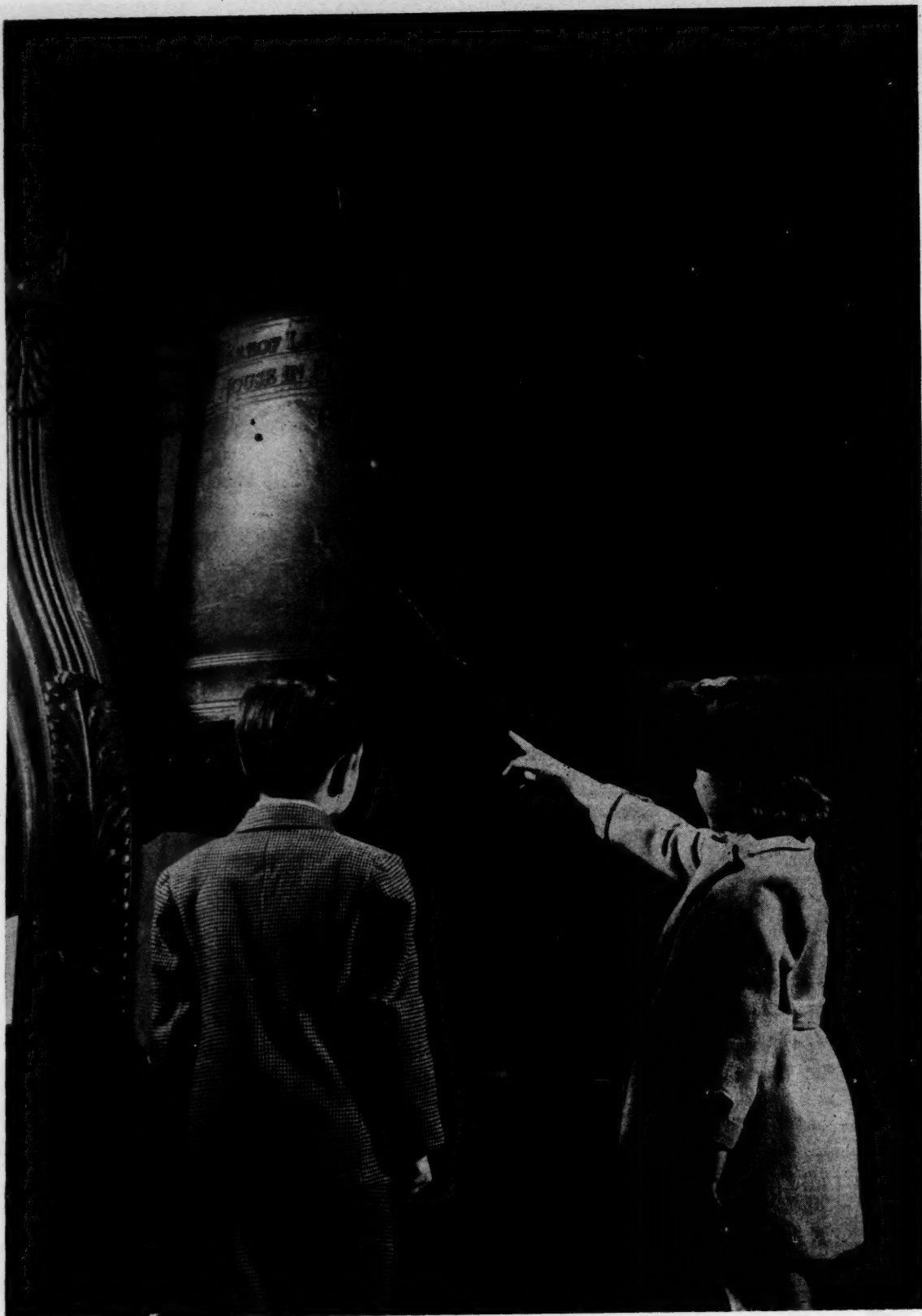
SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, \$1.25; one copy, 35 cents; five yearly subscriptions to separate addresses, \$4; three years to one address, \$2.50; five or more copies mailed by the publisher to one address, or to five different addresses, postpaid, each 25 cents. No subscription accepted for less than one year. Subscription rates subject to change without notice. All subscriptions must be paid for in advance. Except for sample copies, papers are sent only on paid subscriptions.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION, organized in 1888, teaches only one doctrine—the doctrine of soul liberty, as indicated in the Declaration of Principles on the preceding page. The Association advocates no political or economic theories. Its officers are Alvin W. Johnson, Ph.D., secretary, and Aubrey H. Rulkoetter, Ph.D., John C. Thompson, Ph.D., Frank H. Yost, Ph.D., associate secretaries.

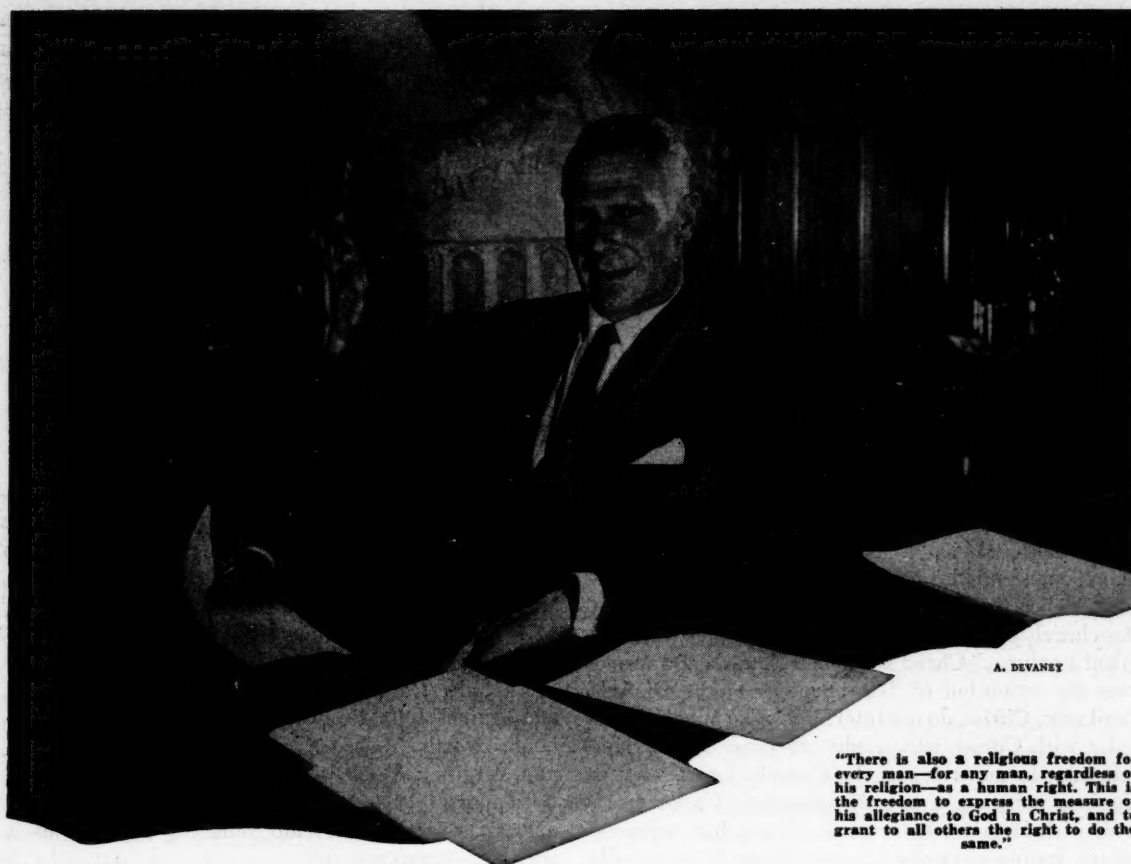
Associated Church Press: **LIBERTY: A Magazine of Religious Freedom** is a member of the Associated Church Press.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: One month's notice is required. Please report any change of address to the Review and Herald Publishing Association.

3



H. A. ROBERTS



A. DEVANEY

"There is also a religious freedom for every man—for any man, regardless of his religion—as a human right. This is the freedom to express the measure of his allegiance to God in Christ, and to grant to all others the right to do the same."

Essential Aspects of Religious Liberty

By J. A. Mackay, Ph.D.

[It is a privilege to present here a report of an address by Dr. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, preacher, missionary, teacher, student, and advocate of religious liberty, and, among many other responsibilities, vice-president of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. In his address he presented some phases of the religious liberty question that do not emerge in the usual study.—Ed.]

← America's Liberty Bell in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, is a real memento of the Revolutionary Period, a symbol of the liberty it proclaimed on many special occasions of long ago. It was rung on July 8, 1776, for the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence. Hidden during the British occupation of Philadelphia, it was replaced in Independence Hall in 1778. The bell cracked on July 8, 1835, while tolling the death of Chief Justice John Marshall. Except for being lightly tapped on a few occasions, it has remained silent ever since. Visitors regard it a privilege to see this most famous and revered of America's bells. Even the crack has been allowed to remain, a distinguishing mark of a duty well done.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY is a threefold experience. It is a spiritual achievement. It is a human right. It is a political experience.

Man is not naturally free. He is literally in bondage—to passions and urges within himself, and to circumstances and conditions. To this bondage man reacts by an internal rebellion against life's compulsions, a sort of anarchism. "Must I do what I do not want to do?" Realizing the emptiness of this experience, he reacts in the direction of the opposite extreme, by longing to place himself under authority.

There follows then the desire to become, if only in a small way, that authority. Men long to subject others to themselves.

The free man is one who is committed to something bigger than himself, surrendering egoism, crass

individualism, without merging his personality or losing his right of self-expression. But in practice men make this surrender, only to find themselves in a deeper bondage.

This surrender to the larger authority, which frustrates, is illustrated politically in the case of the Nazis in Germany. They felt themselves free in the exhibition of elemental, often bestial, forces. So with Communists. Having accepted the necessities of the Communist philosophy and relationships, under the pressure of economic needs, they have felt a sort of freedom in working, as they think, with the forces of the universe. Here is a frank, realistic surrender, but with a sensation of freedom.

Then, there is the surrender to a religious order. An obvious illustration of this is found in the relationship of individuals to the Roman Catholic system. Here the freedom offered is based on an absolute commitment to an institutional church. So Loyola spoke of himself as "a staff in the hands of a blind man," expressing his complete surrender to an institution. Hence the formula, "What do I believe? What the church believes! What does the church believe? What I believe." Christ has done His work, and turned over the execution of His purposes to the Church, "and now, Christ, do not interfere." The Virgin intercedes with Christ, who might otherwise inject Himself into the functions of the Church. I have seen in Spain a painting, a mural, presenting Christ crucified, with Him on the cross bending before a cowed figure, representing the Church. There is admittedly no freedom *outside* the Church, for Christ has submitted everything *to* the Church, and each individual is required to surrender *within* the Church.

But there remains to the religious man who would experience freedom in surrender, his commitment to God. When this is achieved, it is not a suppression of self-expression, or restriction to a political, or cultural, or ecclesiastical order, but a personal commitment directly to God. So Calvin said, "My heart I give Thee, Lord, eagerly and sincerely," and Pascal, "To Thy tribunal, Lord, I appeal." Matheson expressed it in his magnificent hymn, "Make me a captive, Lord, and then I shall be free." This is a spiritual achievement.

THE RIGHT TO BE WRONG

The right to be wrong in matters of religious belief must be accorded, otherwise we produce hypocrites instead of persons with an enlightened belief that is fully their own. If the truth be mighty and God all-powerful, His children need not fear that disaster will follow freedom of thought.—Francois de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai.

In the Reformation, freedom was found in accepting Bible truth. This has been ever since the evangelical tradition. In the presence of this method, tyranny fell, and must fall—whether that of Caesar, or of a church, or of a dictatorial order, or of any control in competition with the benign authority of Christ and His revealed truth. The evangelical is not, under this relationship, left free to do whatever he wishes. But his restraints are within his own conscience, and enlightened by Christ through the Word of God. "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." The evangelical believes that that man is free who is committed to God through Jesus Christ as Lord. This is freedom under God.

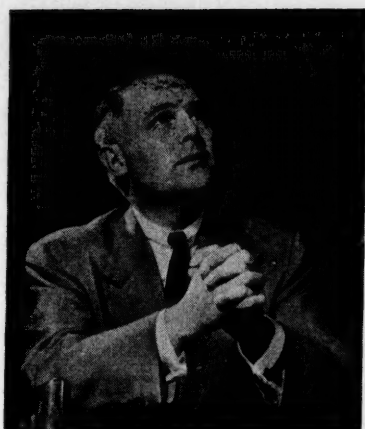
But there is also a religious freedom for every man—for any man, regardless of his religion—as a human right. This is the freedom to express the measure of his allegiance to God in Christ, and to grant to all others the right to do the same.

But religious freedom as a human right has had a stiff battle, even within Protestantism. The Catholic attitude that the truth is embodied in the Church, with no dissent justifiable or permitted, carried over into seventeenth century England, and operated against the Puritans, and against the Covenanters, and against John Bunyan. It carried over into England's North American colonies, in New England and Virginia. Yet here, in these very colonies, came the opportunity to achieve the separation of church and state, and to develop religious freedom as a political experience.

Religious liberty as a human right has several aspects: first, the freedom to *choose* one's faith; and second, and a corollary of the first, the freedom to *change* one's faith, without discrimination. There are two attitudes in religious relationships that make religious freedom in either of these aspects difficult to maintain. One of these is the identification of religion with race and culture. This is illustrated in the German concept, where the *Führer* as a racial and cultural ideal succeeded the Jewish Messianic concept; and Judaism, and Jewish elements in Christianity, were rejected, to make room for Nazism as a German race-religion.

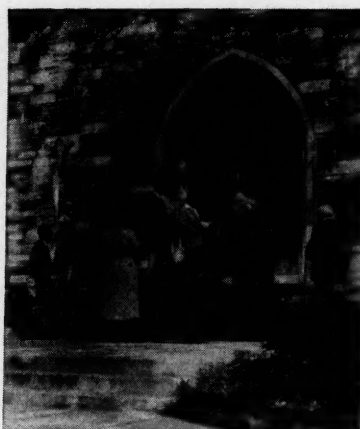
It is by a parallel way of thinking that the present regime in Colombia is supporting the Roman Catholic religion—as a cultural expression, essential to the unity and well-being of the Colombian people. The profession of the Roman Catholic religion is identified there with national loyalty. The same attitude is manifested in Spain, where the Protestant is not recognized as a citizen in good and regular standing, but is marked as an element in society contrary to the traditional and inbred culture of the country.

The other concept that makes difficult the exercise of the right to choose or change one's faith is that error has no rights. If a person is in error, in terms of what the Church believes, and concerning which it



A. DEVANEY

Calvin said, "My heart I give Thee, Lord," and David of old expressed a great truth when he sang, "I will walk in liberty: for I seek Thy precepts." These sum up a Spiritual Achievement.



CAROL HETZELL

To choose one's faith or to change one's persuasion, to worship or not to worship, to teach and to propagate one's religion and to enjoy full civil liberty, all these total a Human Right.



A. DEVANEY

The third aspect is not negative but a positive demonstration of liberty, where the government is not neutral, nor yet liberal, but completely separate from religion. These add up to a Political Experience.

exercises a final authority in judgment and in discipline, he is not in good and regular standing in society. He is not a first-class citizen.

The evangelical view is that nonconformity, called error by ecclesiastical authority, has its own right, short of immorality. It holds at the same time that choice and change of religious faith can be brought about justly only through persuasion.

A third aspect of religious liberty is freedom to worship, either in private or in public. This freedom Communism is granting. The Roman Catholic hierarchy does not concede it in those places where it manipulates political authority to control society. To that extent it is proving itself a more difficult foe of religious freedom than Communism.

A fourth aspect of religious freedom is the liberty to teach and to propagate one's faith. This right is not conceded by Communism, by Roman Catholic authorities, or by Fascists, and their refusal is important where they manipulate control. But freedom to propagate is native to, and a necessity in, evangelical thought and practice. Whether it be by word of mouth or by the printing press, there must be freedom to set forth one's religious views. John Milton said, "Give me the freedom to know, to think, to believe, and to utter freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."

There is yet another aspect of religious liberty. That is, to enjoy civil rights. There should be in the citizen's status no difference grounded in peculiarities of religion. Any restraint of religious liberty, peacefully practiced, puts those restrained in a degraded position as citizens. Yet there are still specific instances of this sort of abuse of human rights. In Mexico, for example, priests are second-class citizens. This is unjust, whatever reasons from the past may be assigned for the discrimination. The evangelical position is that there must be no discrimination.

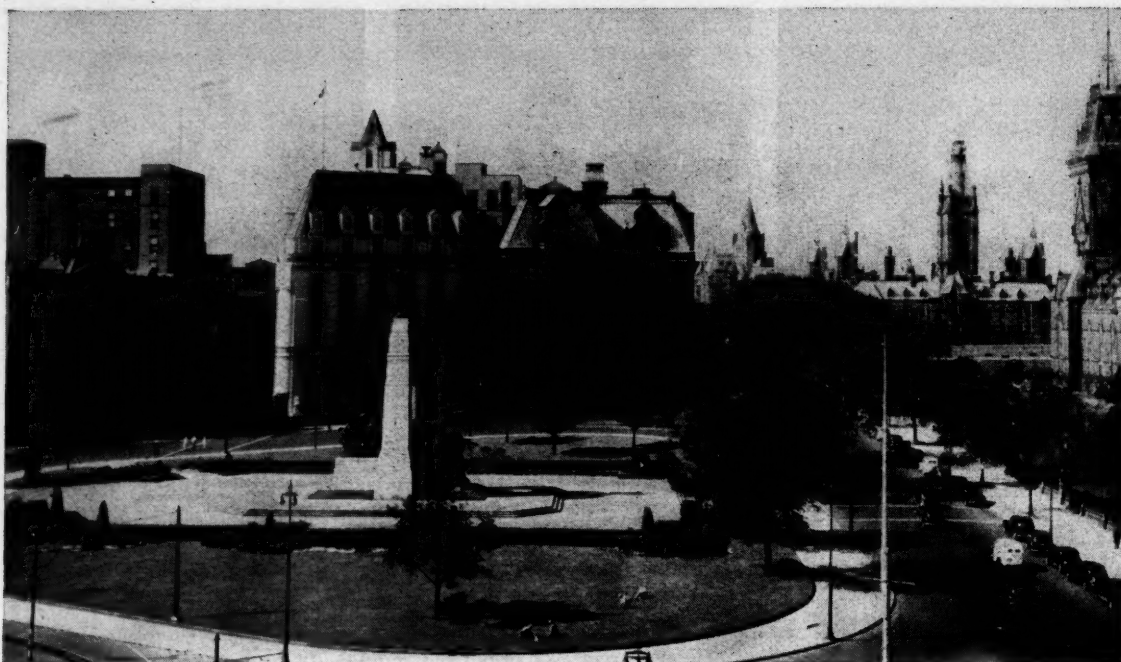
THIRD QUARTER

The third major area in which religious liberty is experienced is as a political guarantee. This is the area of the reaction of the organized state to the fact of organized religion, in respect to freedom for religion.

Under this head there are three main types of state reaction to be considered. First, that of France, where the state is neutral toward religion. In this category would fit also Belgium, manifesting a benevolent neutrality by subsidizing all religions, beginning at a level of a minimum membership, and extending material support in proportion to the membership of the churches recognized. Second, the liberal relationship, after the example of Great Britain, where England is related to the Church of England, and Scotland to the Presbyterian Church. The church receives some aid from government, and participates in state public functions, but exerts very little direct action in political matters.

Third, religious freedom as in the United States, with church and state separate, and men of the government as citizens, but not the government itself as an organism, committed to religion as a matter of individual experience. This last-named experience in religious liberty is the great means of freedom offered to a world that needs to know freedom, perhaps as never before. It is not to be anti-Catholic, nor "anti" in any direction, but rather a positive demonstration of liberty.

The principles that underlie the essential aspects of religious freedom are to be set forth in high relief, to win those who are either involved in secularism, or immersed in sectarianism: both those who are unaware of a solemn personal commitment to God, and those who are intolerant in their commitment to institutional religion. This is the day of opportunity for a clear presentation of the necessity and advantage of religious freedom.



NATIONAL FILM BOARD PHOTO

The heart of the capital of Canada in Ottawa is Confederation Square, with the National War Memorial the central figure. Part of the Parliament Building can be seen on the right.

School Tension in Canada

By **GEORGE A. CORNISH, Ph.D**

[Dr. Cornish is professor of education, having under his care methods in geography and science in the University of Toronto. The paper here reprinted by permission was presented at the annual meeting of the Associated Church Press on April 6, 1956.—ED.]

NO TENSION HAS BEEN so continuous and contentious, no pressure so great and persistent, as that regarding the school question in Canada between Protestants and Roman Catholics during the last century. Since 1867, when the constitution of the Dominion of Canada was embodied in the British North America Act, education has been the exclusive field of the provinces. But, unfortunately, that Act and its successive amendments contained certain privileges for minority groups, which no province dare change. As a result, three provinces, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, have been throttled with state supported separate, or parochial, schools for all time. Quebec has been completely deprived of the public school, and in that province there have been substituted two entirely separated systems: the Roman Catholic, almost completely controlled by the bishops, and the misnamed Protestant system, which is in reality a catchall of every non-

Catholic group and includes, as well as Protestants, Jews, Greek Orthodox, Christian Scientists, Witnesses of Jehovah, Buddhists, agnostics, etc. Indeed, all non-Catholic groups are considered Protestants for educational purposes.

Newfoundland, the most sparsely settled province, which needs, more than all others, a comprehensive public school which all pupils may attend, has no public schools whatever. Each of the chief church groups: Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, and Seventh-day Adventist, has its own educational institutions, often overlapping in the smallest communities. These sectarian schools are largely controlled by the several denominations. The Presbyterians and Baptists have never formed their own schools, but usually send their children to the United Church schools.

The other five provinces: Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and British Columbia have public schools only, and *legally* these are supposed to be non-sectarian.

It is interesting to note that wherever there are publicly supported Roman Catholic separate, or parochial, schools, namely in Ontario, Saskatchewan,

and Alberta, the schools have never been established by the votes of their own people, but have been forced upon them by the actions of others. In Ontario the schools were set up in 1843 when the province was united with Quebec, and the bill establishing separate [parochial] schools was pushed through by the legislative majority of Roman Catholics from Quebec against the votes of Protestant Ontario.

When the two prairie provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, were established fifty years ago, they were not allowed to decide for themselves whether they should have separate [parochial] schools, although they sent numerous petitions asking for the privilege of deciding, but the government majority in the federal parliament forced sectarian schools upon these new provinces against their will.

At one time Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia had separate [parochial] schools, but these provinces abolished them many years ago.

Consequently it cannot be denied that wherever provinces have had the power, they have abolished such schools, and wherever they still exist it is because they were forced upon the provinces by extra-provincial legislatures, and they now have no power to abolish them.

Not only have provincial governments shown that they are opposed to these sectarian schools, but there is much evidence, not only in Canada, but also in most predominantly Roman Catholic countries, that not Protestants alone are opposed to such sectarian institutions, but that the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholic parents prefer the public non-sectarian school. In Toronto, although numerous separate [parochial] schools are conveniently distributed about the city, yet nearly ten thousand, or one-third, of the total Roman Catholic elementary school population, attends the non-sectarian public school in preference to the Roman Catholic separate [parochial] school. In Ottawa there are like conditions with more than two thousand Roman Catholics attending the public schools. Similar statistics could be given for other Canadian cities. Remember that this choice is made by the parents, not only against the commands of the priest and in violation of the Canon Law of the church, but also under the shadow of possible excommunication by the hierarchy.

The educational stresses between Protestants and Roman Catholics are, in many cases, the same in all of the provinces, but it will be of special interest to indicate some causes of recent friction, which are peculiar to separate provinces.

In Newfoundland each denomination has control of its own schools, though all have to conform to certain legal conditions laid down by the Education Department of the Province. Each sect appoints, with the assent of the government, a supervisor for its own schools. Over a year ago the position of supervisor of

United Church schools became vacant, and the executive body of the Church selected a man who had been outstanding in educational work and passed on the recommendation to be ratified by the government, which was always considered a mere matter of form. But the premier told the church authorities that he could not make the appointment, because the educationist was objectionable to two of the Roman Catholic bishops, with whom, before his appointment, he had exchanged letters through the daily press. In other words the government in a predominantly Protestant province had allowed the hierarchy to veto the appointment of a man whose work would deal exclusively with the schools of the United Church. The United Church had to bow to the bishops and make a second-best appointment which satisfied the hierarchy.

It has already been stated that the maritime provinces abolished publicly supported separate [parochial] schools many years ago and have clauses in their School Acts to the effect that all public schools shall be non-sectarian. But from the day that these acts were passed, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church have unceasingly endeavored to undermine these laws and have largely succeeded in establishing state-supported parochial schools within the legal non-sectarian framework. Indeed, they have gone so far in this respect that in one case, namely in Edmundston, New Brunswick, one of the largest towns in the province, the school that Protestants had to attend was a building rented from the Roman Catholic Church. In this school, at one time, the School Board had a confessional installed for the use of pupils during school hours. A rare touch was a bulletin board in the corridor, on which were placed subjects for weekly prayers. One week the subject was that "the Anglicans should be brought back into the fold." As a United Churchman I would like to know why the French Canadian bishop selected my friends, the Anglicans, for such special treatment,—perhaps he considered us United Churchmen as past redemption.

The regular practice in prevailingly Protestant towns in these provinces is for the bishop to build a school adjoining the church and the rectory, then to offer it to the non-sectarian school board at a fair rental to be a public school for Roman Catholic children. The priest usually submits a list of teachers for the school, mostly, or entirely, composed of nuns and monks, which the prevailingly Protestant board accepts, and pays their salaries out of public funds to the religious corporation. The board connives at the violation of the spirit of the law, not because they desire to do so, but because of the well-organized block of Roman Catholic voters. This procedure is usually followed where Protestantism prevails, under what they euphemistically call a "gentlemen's agreement," which continues to be effective until the Roman Cath-

olic voters prevail in numbers, when their majority on the school board dictates where Protestant children shall go, and accepts the recommendations of the hierarchy on all important school questions.

In Quebec each school board levies taxes on its own supporters, and this is supplemented by government grants. But the largest taxpayers are the corporations, often owned by a few men. The immense taxes from this source are not distributed to the schools as are the individual taxes. It has been estimated that ninety percent of the corporations are owned by Protestants, and if the Protestant corporation taxes were distributed to Protestant schools, their school boards would probably be the richest in Canada. But these taxes are not distributed according to ownership, but are divided in the ratio of school population. An example will illustrate how this works. Senator Bouchard, who is a big businessman of St. Hyacinthe, has stated that in this industrial town, nearly ninety percent of the corporation taxes is paid by Protestant institutions, but only about ten percent of these taxes goes to support Protestant institutions, and ninety percent is used to strengthen the Roman Catholic schools.



ONTARIO DEPT. TRAVEL AND PUBLICITY PHOTO

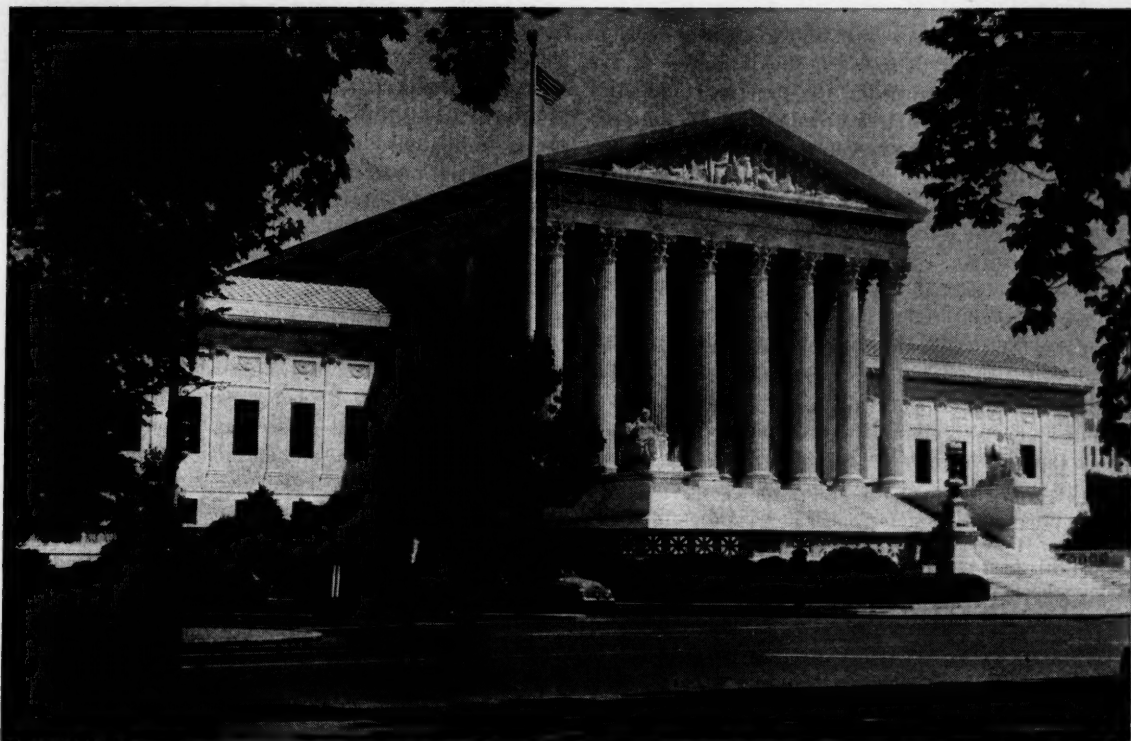
The Hope Commission, after a most thorough investigation of education in Ontario, extending over three years, recommended many changes, the most fundamental of which was that elementary education should end with the sixth grade, and secondary education should begin with the seventh. This adjustment has been made in England, France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States long ago, and has also become a matter of routine in most of the Canadian provinces. But, because it was opposed by Roman Catholics, not on educational but on religious grounds, the recommendation has had to be scrapped, and Ontario has to continue its obsolete system and remain among the second-rate in education.

Manitoba is experiencing the same insidious pressure on the public schools as the maritime provinces. The Roman Catholic hierarchy are working without ceasing to implant parochial schools within the public school system, but as yet have had little success.

In Ontario no Roman Catholics need support the separate [parochial] schools unless they so desire, and as we have seen, many of them prefer to send their children to the public school. But in Alberta and Saskatchewan, where there are also separate [parochial] schools, all Roman Catholic parents are compelled to send their children to the parochial schools, where one is available. As a result, many Roman Catholic parents attempt to escape from this coercion by nominally becoming Protestants so their children may attend the public school, and reverting to Roman Catholicism when their children's education has been completed.

British Columbia has the distinction of being the only province of Canada which has adhered, from the first, to a strictly non-sectarian school. Indeed, the gate was shut so tightly that the School Act for many years has contained a clause prohibiting clergymen from being teachers, inspectors, or even members of school boards. But today the whole organization and propaganda of the hierarchy are continually bearing down to break through the barrier of the separation of church and state. All the methods of insidious attack so well known in the United States, and so innocent looking, are being used to insert the thin edge of the wedge: free riding in buses, public school health services, release from paying public school taxes, exemption from paying school taxes on parochial schools, etc., are being pressed home with vigor. Up to the present, governments have refused to give way on any of these points. But the fight has just begun.

This small schoolboy admires his hero, a Mountie, just outside the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.



WOLFINGER PHOTO

A pleasing view of the United States Supreme Court Building in the Nation's Capital.

The Meaning of Separation of Church and State

By LEO PFEFFER

[We begin herewith the publication of the Statement written by Dr. Pfeffer, of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, for submission to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate. It is well-known to our readers that, unfortunately, the oral presentations, of which this Statement was to be a part, were cancelled. We are glad to have the privilege of publishing Dr. Pfeffer's Statement in LIBERTY. The first article appears in this issue, and two more will appear later.—Ed.]

IN 1947 THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, in the *Everson* Parochial School Bus Case, interpreted the provision in the First Amendment to the Constitution that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" to mean that neither the Federal Government nor a State may grant material aid to churches or church schools. This interpretation became the subject of a good deal of criticism from a variety of groups and individuals who claimed that the Court had misinterpreted the Constitution. According to their view the original and

true purpose of the constitutional provision was only to bar preferential aid to a particular church or religious group but not to bar non-preferential aid to religion.

The practical consequences of this difference in interpretation are of tremendous importance. If the Constitution is interpreted narrowly to prohibit only non-preferential aid, then it is permissible for Congress and the States to appropriate public funds for the support of religious education so long as all church schools are included in the program without favoritism or discrimination. Also it is permissible for the public schools to teach religion so long as each child in the school is taught his own religion. If the broad interpretation announced by the Supreme Court is adopted, neither government financing of religious education nor religious instruction in the public schools is permissible.

It is the purpose of this statement to show that the broad interpretation set forth in the *Everson* case is

the only one consistent with the historical development of American democracy, the intention of the fathers of our Constitution, the practice and policy of our Federal and State governments, and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. It is also my purpose to show that adherence to this broad interpretation and to the principle of strict separation of church and state best serves the interests of religion, of democratic government, and of the people.

I.

One of America's foremost jurists, David Dudley Field, in speaking of the opening words of the Bill of Rights—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"—said:

"The greatest achievement ever made in the course of human progress is the total and final separation of church and state. If we had nothing else to boast of, we could lay claim with justice that first among the nations we of this country made it an article of organic law that the relations between man and his Maker were a private concern, into which other men have no right to intrude. To measure the stride thus made for the emancipation of the race, we have only to look over the centuries that have gone before us, and recall the dreadful persecutions in the name of religion that have filled the world."

To call the separation of church and state the greatest achievement ever made in the course of human progress may be excusable hyperbole. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the evolution and successful launching of the uniquely American experiment epitomized in the first sixteen words of the First Amendment is the greatest contribution made by the United States to democracy and human progress.

This evaluation, I suggest, can be supported by one simple point: Exact statistics are unavailable, but it is probable that up until 1791, when the First Amendment was added to the Constitution, more blood had been shed in the course of human history in religious wars and religious conflicts than in any other human cause. "Half the wars of Europe," Lord Bryce noted in his monumental work on *The American Commonwealth*, "have arisen from theological differences or from the rival claims of church and state." "Torrents of blood," said James Madison in 1784, "have been spilt in the world in vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord by prescribing all differences in religious opinions." Nationalism, perhaps the closest rival for this unenviable record, did not achieve its status as a major blood-consuming idol until the 19th century.

Today the picture is entirely reversed. Religious wars have disappeared from the face of the earth. Peoples and nations still tragically war with each other for many reasons and in many causes; but happily they no longer blaspheme God by claiming that they wage these wars in His name and shed human blood for His glory.

That religion has been displaced in its tragic leadership is in no small measure the result of the American experiment articulated in the opening words of the Bill of Rights. For this experiment has been emulated throughout the world. There is hardly a nation in the world whose constitution today does not pay at least lip service to the principle that the relationship between man and God is a matter for the individual conscience of man and not a matter of state control.

The experiment was uniquely American. Before its launching the concept of religious liberty and the separation of church and state was unknown for all practical purposes. Probably ever since the institutions of religion and of secular powers were recognized as distinct in human history, the two have competed for and struggled over human destiny. It had never occurred to any but a few visionaries that it might be wrong for a secular ruler to dictate to his subjects how they should worship God or for priests to dictate to the state how it should conduct its secular affairs. It was the United States alone that conceived and proved the workability of the idea that, as Lord Bryce put it, religious organizations should be "unrecognized by law except as voluntary associations of private citizens."

There are some who contend that the provision against laws respecting an establishment of religion in the First Amendment was nothing more than a practical expedient to meet a practical problem. According to this view the prohibition of establishment arose out of the multiplicity of rival and jealous sects that existed among the states in 1791. If the national government were to be permitted to establish a particular denomination as the established church of the United States, each sect feared that it would be some other that would be thus favored. Accordingly, like the woman who would rather Solomon slay the babe than that it be given to her rival, the sects agreed that no one of them should have the greatly desired treasure of establishment.

This, I submit, is historically incorrect, and entirely unfair both to the religious leaders and to the

To call the separation of church and state the greatest achievement ever made in the course of human progress may be excusable hyperbole. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the evolution and successful launching of the uniquely American experiment epitomized in the first sixteen words of the First Amendment is the greatest contribution made by the United States to democracy and human progress.

constitutional fathers. By 1791 most of the religious leaders had no desire for state support; the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Quakers, the Mennonites, and other denominations had had opportunities to share in the fruits of establishments and had turned them down. While the constitutional fathers undoubtedly wished to keep from these shores the quarreling and the rivalries of the sects and hoped, to quote George Washington, "never again [to] see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of society," their concern went far beyond the merely practical problems of appeasing the multiplicity of American sects. They were concerned with principle, the principle which truly underlies our American democratic system.

This principle has two aspects reflected in the "no establishment" and "free exercise" clauses of the First Amendment. These may be termed briefly as separation and freedom. These are not separate concepts or principles but really only two sides of a single coin. The fathers of the First Amendment were convinced that the free exercise of religion and the separation of church and state were two ways of saying the same thing: that separation guaranteed freedom and freedom required separation.

The unitary freedom-separation principle was based upon a dual democratic tradition that had evolved in this country during the century and a half before 1791: voluntariness in matters of belief, and government without inherent powers but limited to those specifically conferred upon it.

The concept of voluntariness in matters of belief has properly been called the great tradition of the American churches. It is also the great tradition of American political democracy. Throughout the writings of the political, religious, and cultural leaders of the generation that brought forth our Constitution are innumerable references to the evil, tyranny, and inefficacy of coercion in the realm of conscience. This concept was as universally accepted in 1791 as it is today and its incorporation in the First Amendment was both natural and inevitable.

Equally universally accepted was the proposition

This evaluation, I suggest, can be supported by one simple point: Exact statistics are unavailable, but it is probable that up until 1791, when the First Amendment was added to the Constitution, more blood had been shed in the course of human history in religious wars and religious conflicts than in any other human cause. "Half the wars of Europe have arisen from theological differences or from the rival claims of church and state."

that government has only such powers as are delegated to it. On this was predicated the no-establishment clause; for it was almost universally accepted in 1791 that power to intervene in religious affairs was not conferred upon government by the people. The conceptual foundation of the no-establishment clause was the inherent incapacity of political government to concern itself with religious matters. Government, in the words of James Madison—father not only of the Constitution but of the First Amendment—has no jurisdiction over matters of religion.

It was this concept that brought together the two forces most responsible for the constitutional guarantee of freedom and separation—the deeply religious, evangelical, and pietist force which started with Roger Williams and was led by such devout Christians as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, and the humanist, non-church-affiliated deists led by Jefferson and Thomas Paine.

These two groups arrived at the common ideological meeting place from two different directions. To the religious leaders the source of all temporal power was God, and He had not seen fit to delegate power over religion to temporal governments. Roger Williams pointed out that the Ten Commandments were written by God on two tablets, on one side were the commandments which concern man's relation to God, e.g. "I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no other gods before me, etc." On the other side were those concerning man's relationship to man, e.g. "Thou shalt not murder," "Thou shalt not steal, etc." By placing a line of demarcation between the two tablets God expressed His wish that transgressions of obligations between man and man shall be subject to the jurisdiction of man's tribunals, but the relationship of man to God shall be exclusively within God's jurisdiction. Other religious leaders reached the same result through the Biblical text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

Defense of separation of church and state has recently been equated by some with defense of secularism and hostility to religion. It is, therefore, appropriate to emphasize that the principle of the separation of church and state was evolved by devoutly Christian leaders and thinkers long before it was espoused by the non-religious and long before it was elevated to a constitutional principle in the First Amendment. It is also appropriate to cite but a few expressions of the separation principle by the deeply religious persons who were the leaders and founders of their churches in America. Roger Williams, [a] founder of the American Baptist Church, was, of course, the first and best known religious leader to urge the absolute separation of church and state on the ground that intrusion by secular authorities in the area of religion constitutes a usurpation of God's prerogative and an encroachment upon His domain.

The Baptist leaders who followed Williams remained faithful to his teachings. Samuel Stilman, minister of the first Baptist Church of Boston, preached from the pulpit that the "jurisdiction of the magistrate neither can nor ought to be extended to the salvation of souls." John Leland, Baptist leader in Virginia, wrote a tract in the same year that the First Amendment was adopted, which was entitled, "Rights of Conscience and therefore Religious Opinions not recognizable by law." In this tract, Leland said that "government has no more to do with religious opinions of men than with the principles of mathematics."

In a constitutional democracy such as the United States, the state acknowledges its lack of competence to pass judgment upon conflicting scientific theories. It cannot decree that acquired traits are hereditary or that they are not hereditary. It cannot even decree that 2 and 2 are 4. And it cannot decree that one faith is true and another false; or even that God exists or does not exist.

Basically, the same thought was expressed by Isaac Backus, spokesman for the Massachusetts Baptist churches at the time of the Revolutionary War and the Constitution. Arguing against the use of tax-raised funds for religious purposes, he said: "The free exercises of private judgment and the inalienable rights of conscience are too high a rank and dignity to be submitted to the decrees of councils or the imperfect laws of fallible legislators. . . . Religion is a concern between God and the soul with which no human authority can intermeddle. . . ."

The Baptists, of course, were far from alone among the religious groups in urging this concept. A few years before the adoption of the First Amendment, the Presbyterian Church, arguing against taxation for religious purposes, said:

"The end of Civil Government is security to the temporal liberty and property of Mankind; and to protect them in the free Exercise of Religion—Legislators are invested with powers from their Constituents, for these purposes only; and their duty extends no farther— Religion is altogether personal, and the right of exercising it unalienable; and it is not, cannot, and ought not to be, resigned to the will of the society at large; and much less to the Legislature, which derives its authority wholly from the consent of the People; and is limited by the Original

intention of Civil Associations."—*American State Papers* (Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949), p. 110.

The second force responsible for the religion clause of the First Amendment, the Deist-Humanist group, based its ideological agreement with the religious groups on the social contract of Locke and Rousseau. This theory was widely accepted in the latter half of the 18th century and upon it was based the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. According to the theory of the social contract, governments, in words of the Declaration of Independence, "are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." A government, therefore, has only such powers as are granted to it by the governed. A government seeking to exercise powers not so granted is guilty of tyranny and usurpation, and, according to the Declaration of Independence, "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The humanists and deists who found their inspiration in the social contract believed that, in the words of Madison, "In matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society, and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance." The reason for this, they argued, is that matters of conscience are by their very nature inalienable and, therefore, jurisdiction over them was not and could not have been assigned to political government in the social contract. The views of this group were epitomized in Thomas Paine's statement in *Common Sense* that, "As to religion I hold it to be the indispensable duty of government to protect all conscientious professors thereof; and I know of no other business which government hath to do therewith."

It should be noted that this short sentence contains in it the two aspects of the principle spelled out in the religion clause of the First Amendment—freedom and separation. The reference to the "duty of government to protect all conscientious professors" of religion is reflected in the First Amendment's ban of laws prohibiting the free exercise of religion. The aspect of separation expressed in the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion is reflected in Paine's belief that government has "no other business" with religion.



Isaac Backus, spokesman for the Massachusetts Baptist churches at the time of the Revolutionary War and the Constitution, went up and down the country preaching the doctrine of soul liberty and arguing against the use of tax-raised funds for religious purposes. He said, "The free exercises of private judgment and the inalienable rights of conscience are too high a rank and dignity to be submitted to the decrees of councils or the imperfect laws of fallible legislators. . . . Religion is a concern between God and the soul with which no human authority can intermeddle. . . ."

The Reason for the "No Establishment" Clause

A Look at Historical Facts

By ALVIN W. JOHNSON, Ph.D.

THERE ARE THOSE who would have us believe that the American political system is the product of the Medieval Church. The facts, however, do not bear out such an assumption. Rather, the American Government, which became Republican in form, was manned, with few exceptions, by Protestants. As American institutions were primarily English, so America's people were largely Protestant. They were the product of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But they went further than the Reformation, for they were not satisfied with the established churches of Western Europe, nor the state Church of England.

By and large, the American colonists were radical in religion, and the Colonial churches were established largely by radicals. Indeed, the colonists were not only liberal but radical in both religion and politics. There was reason for this. A revolution in religion and politics was already in progress in seventeenth-century England and on the continent. While economic conditions were important factors in encouraging colonization, early migrations were primarily the result of the religious and political conflicts of the time. As Sweet declares in his *Story of Religion in America*, page 2, "The old political faith as well as the old ecclesiastical establishments were under attack from every quarter; they likewise contested the divine right of bishops."

In 1677, Increase Mather declared, "There never was a generation that did so perfectly shake off the dust of Babylon, both as to ecclesiastical and civil constitution, as the first generation of Christians that came to this land for the Gospel's sake."

The great majority of colonists insisted, as Van Tyne puts it in his *Causes of the War of Independence*, pages 2 and 3, "upon going to Heaven in their own way, and from this chronic and incurable non-conformity in religion, developed political opposition to rulers who would drive them along the Episcopalian road to salvation. The idea of the sovereignty of the people, the modern world's dominant ideal of democratic rule, may be said to have originated, in the days of Elizabeth and James, with those small congregations of separatists who asserted their right



THE CENTURY BOOK OF FAMOUS AMERICANS

It was in 1789 that George Washington rode the long distance from his beloved home in Mount Vernon, Virginia, to the City of New York, where he was inaugurated the first President of the United States. Soon after, the first Congress under the Constitution met. Their first business was to pass the Amendments to the Constitution that were to become, after ratification by the States, the Bill of Rights for the American people. Chief among these amendments was the one that forbade Congress from ever passing a law that would establish any religion as official in these United States. Thus was laid a cornerstone in the building of American liberty and the separation of church and state.

to meet and worship in their own way. They denied the right of Government to 'compell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical government by lawes and penalties.'"

The Puritan Colonial leaders had visions of the beginning of a new social order, and they gloried in their escape from the restrictions of the old. The middle colonies, and Rhode Island in particular, constituted asylums for oppressed religious radicals. The principles set forth by the Baptists and Friends were in direct opposition to seventeenth-century state and ecclesiastical organization. Pennsylvania, founded by the Friends, extended a beckoning hand to the persecuted from all lands, including Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, and many others. They, in turn, re-

joined in their escape from the bitter persecutions of the homeland.

Couple with these facts the reality that an Atlantic Ocean of approximately three thousand miles lies between America and Europe; that in the new world there were fewer restraints upon individuals; that a frontier life made naturally for independence, ruggedness, and individualism; and it can be readily understood that all classes in America felt the liberalizing influence of their environment and rejoiced in the removal of the restraints of long-established institutions, were they social, political, or religious.

There was no church official of high rank in America—not an Anglican or Catholic bishop, or any other church official—who might have exercised a restraining ecclesiastical hand throughout the entire Colonial period. By the time of the American Revolution the people of America were experiencing a greater degree of religious freedom than was to be found in any other country.

Contrary too, to the thinking of many people, the great majority of the people during the Colonial and National periods of American history were not religious, if the definition of the term "religious" is to be measured in terms of church membership. Only a small percentage of the population were actually members of any church, even in Puritan New England, where church membership ran higher than in other colonies.

Historians estimate that at the beginning of the eighteenth century not over 5 per cent of the people in Virginia were members of any church, and that church membership was perhaps even lower in other Southern colonies.

The liberalizing and atheistic thinking of France, which was also influential in England, was gaining popularity in America. Tom Paine, Voltaire, and Rousseau were heroes among college students and other youth in the colonies. Jacobin clubs and societies of the Illuminati were organized throughout the country to usher in the Age of Reason.

In describing the religious conditions existing in Yale College, Lyman Beecher, a student in that institution in 1795, wrote, "The College was in a most ungodly state. The College church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptical and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common."

There were many, including some of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who felt that that church would die with the passing of the old Colonial families. Chief Justice John Marshall, a devout churchman, shared that opinion, declaring that the church was "too far gone ever to be revived."

There was much concern over the lack of interest manifested by Presbyterians in the spiritual welfare of their church. It was said that in 1782 there were

only two students in Princeton College who professed to be Christians.

Baptists and Methodists alike spoke of the low plane that religion had taken, and of the general lack of interest in matters concerning the church. It must be conceded that if religion was at a low ebb along the Eastern coast line, conditions were even more deplorable in the new West.

Opposition to established religion in the various colonies was rife. By 1789, when the debates began on the adoption of the First Amendment, the growing pressure against an established church had resulted in the adoption of multiple church establishments instead of single establishments in those colonies that still supported an established church. Among these were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maryland, and South Carolina. The first three provided for the town form of multiple establishment, while Maryland and South Carolina provided for multiple establishment on the State level. South Carolina dropped provisions for multiple establishment from its constitution of 1790. Thus, when the First Amendment was ratified in 1791, only four States—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maryland—retained church establishment, and these were all multiple establishments. Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey had at no time maintained an established church. The other States had by 1789 discontinued their religious establishments.

Where multiple establishments existed there was always the question of which denominations were to be recognized. Various ingenious devices were resorted to. For example, in the New England States the people in each local town voted to determine which church was to receive public support. The purpose of this popular vote was to prevent minority groups from securing such aid, and to perpetuate the supremacy of the Congregational Church.

A multiple establishment usually discriminated against Catholics and Jews, required support of religion from those who had no religious affiliation, and tended toward the elimination of minority Protestant groups. For major Protestant sects it meant plural support of religious denominations, in contrast with the single establishment of earlier days.

The colonists soon discovered that the compromise of establishing all recognized churches, even on an equal or presumably impartial basis, was not effective. Dissatisfaction with the plan resulted in an attempt to remove all legal connections of church and state, and to eliminate all financial support for any and all religious groups. This objective was achieved on the level of the Federal Government by those who proposed, struggled for, and secured the adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution—the final act in the drama of evolving church and state separation. The achievement of separation of church and state

in the National Government through the adoption of the First Amendment was a result of developments in the States. Of great importance in this process was the freedom of religion attained in the Old Dominion State.

In Virginia the Church of England had been the established church. To many of the colonists the Church of England was closely identified with the British king. To many in Virginia, separating church from state was looked upon as part of the general struggle for independence from England. So it was that religious liberty and civil liberty came to be looked upon as one and the same cause. This attitude was accentuated when an attempt was made by the Anglican Church to appoint a bishop over the Anglican churches in America.

In Virginia, particularly from 1776 on, Madison's "equality of conscience and disestablishment" were the two elements in the thinking of both Madison and Jefferson that were synonymous with the principle of separation of church and state. The struggle in Virginia to disestablish the Anglican Church, to prevent the adoption of multiple establishments, and finally to acknowledge complete separation of church and state, was achieved through the leadership and heroic efforts of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson in the adoption of the latter's Bill of Religious Freedom of 1779, passed by a vote of 74 to 20 by the legislature in January of 1786.

"Whereas Almighty God hath created the mind free; . . . that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness. . . .

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods,

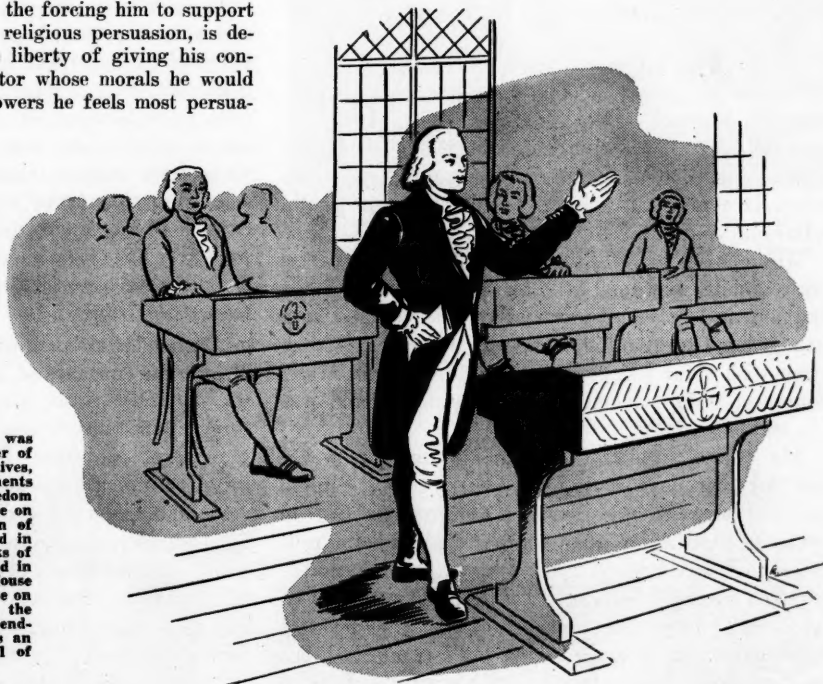
Shortly after the Federal Government was formed, "James Madison, as a member of the United States House of Representatives, on June 8, 1789, marshaled his arguments in support of a clause for religious freedom and disestablishment that was to secure on the national level the same separation of church and state as had been achieved in Virginia on the State level. After weeks of debate in the House, in the Senate, and in conference, there was adopted by the House on September 24, approved by the Senate on September 25, and later ratified by the States, what was to be the First Amendment to the American Constitution as an integral part of a comprehensive Bill of Rights."

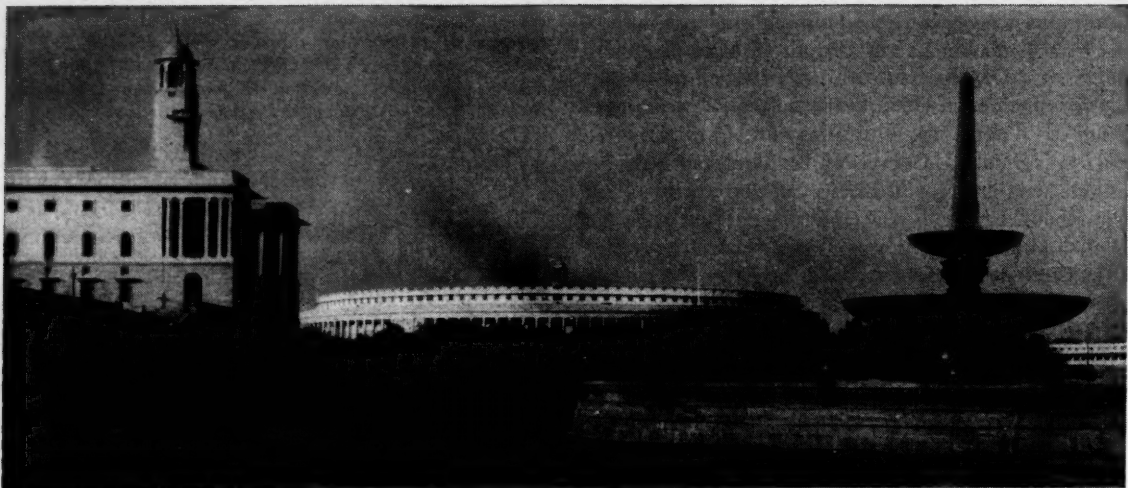
nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities."

Shortly thereafter the Federal Government was formed. True to his promise, and in harmony with Jefferson's expressed desires, James Madison, as a member of the United States House of Representatives, on June 8, 1789, marshaled his arguments in support of a clause for religious freedom and disestablishment that was to secure on the national level the same separation of church and state as had been achieved in Virginia on the State level. After weeks of debate in the House, in the Senate, and in conference, there was adopted by the House on September 24, approved by the Senate on September 25, and later ratified by the States, what was to be the First Amendment to the American Constitution as an integral part of a comprehensive Bill of Rights, declaring:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Thus the bulwark of America's great constitutional guarantees of civil and religious liberty became a reality.





COURTESY DELHI PHOTO CO.

Parliament House, New Delhi, India

India and the Right to Change Religious Faith

By J. F. ASHLOCK

[Mr. Ashlock, for twenty-one years a missionary in India, is concerned with both Christian evangelism and religious freedom. He reports here on an important development in India's attitude toward religious liberty.—Ed.]

THE RIGHT OF A MAN to change his opinion and to act upon the change is important to genuine religious liberty. It becomes a matter of grave concern when a religion of an evangelizing character, such as Islam or Christianity, comes in contact with religious communities more passive in their public relations.

Missionaries are zealous people. Zeal and devotion are requisites if a man is to leave home and friends, and journey, on small pay and few perquisites, to a strange land to give his evangel to others—met very often with a far less cordial attitude than the Macedonian of Paul's vision, who was crying, "Come over . . . and help us."

The ethical record of missionaries over the world has for decades been remarkably clear. Simple methods of persuasion have won converts. But to overcome indifference, emissaries of missionary religions have at times used inducements beyond simple persuasion, and have caused offense. The leaders of religious groups whose people have been the object of missionary activity are sensitive to the situations that have resulted. This is true also of political leaders in countries where missionary activities are carried on,

particularly where the tie between government and the indigenous religion is close.

In such areas, steps have been taken by both state and religion to guard against incidents of the sort here referred to, and there has even been something of a pendulum swing, resulting in an endeavor to eliminate, or to hamper seriously, missionary enterprises. These efforts have taken the form of withholding visas from missionaries entering a country, or endeavoring to prevent within the country public discussion of the guest religion. Both social and legal pressures have been exerted to prevent "conversions." It is here that concern arises over the right of a man to change his mind.

A great awakening of missionary activities in the Protestant churches of Europe and America marked the opening of the nineteenth century, and India, largely Hindu, then a part of the British Empire, was a principal objective for the awakened missionary interest. When, ten years ago, India became independent and formed a republican government, thousands of Moslems migrated to East and West Pakistan, and Christian missionary activity came under both official and popular scrutiny. On September 30, 1955, a member of the Congress party, the political party in power in India, introduced into the *Lok Sabha* ("House of the People") a bill to regulate conversions from one religion to another. The bill required

persons proposing to change their faith to report to a designated government official, who would determine the genuineness of the conversion and grant permits for the change. Penalties were assigned for violations.

The bill received a brief consideration at its introduction. While the bill awaited final action, certain religious groups respectfully called the attention of the government to the provisions of the bill as being contrary to the Constitution of India, Article 25 of which grants "freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion."

When the bill came before the House again on December 2, the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, is reported to have said that if passed, the bill might very well be the cause of great harassment to a large number of people, and that instead of remedying evils it would likely produce other evils and other difficulties. The Prime Minister concluded his speech by stating that it was not desirable to proceed with the bill.

The New Delhi *Sunday Standard*, dated December 4, 1955, devoted a full column to the rejection of the proposed Indian Converts Bill by the *Lok Sabha*. We quote in part the paper's reference to the Prime Minister's speech:

"'Christianity,' he said, 'was one of the important religions of India, established centuries ago. They must not do anything which gave rise to any feeling of oppression or suppression in the minds of their Christian friends and fellow countrymen.'"

India's President, Rajendra Prasad, also spoke against the bill. From the *Bombay Times of India*, dated December 19, 1955, we quote:

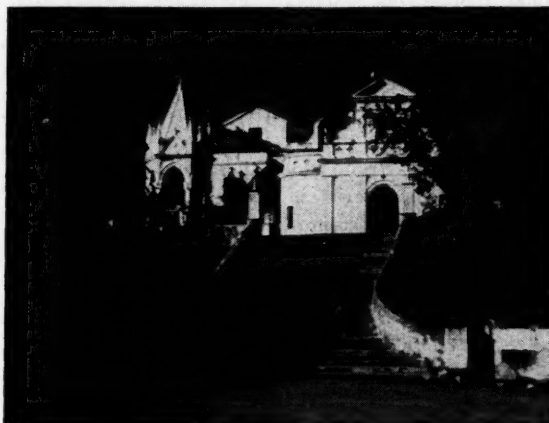
"The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, assured foreign missionaries in the country today that the Government of India had 'no intention of curtailing their freedom or come in the way of their mission.' Dr. Prasad, who was speaking at a function held here to mark the 1903rd anniversary of the arrival of St. Thomas in India, said that Christian missionaries, Indian as well as foreign, were welcome to preach the message of Christ in this country."

Continuing, the *Times* credits the President as saying that "he was proud of the fact that St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, came to

India before many countries of Europe were converted to Christianity. That proved that Christianity was one of the oldest faiths practiced in India."

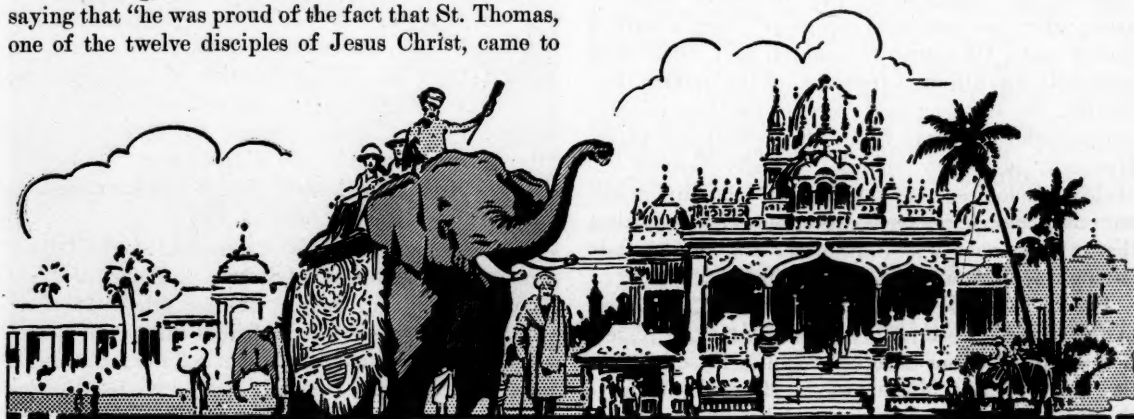
The same article from which the quotation in the above paragraph is taken states further that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Minister for Home Affairs, considered that Christianity had taken an Indian complexion and that he doubted whether "so called Christian countries followed the teachings of Jesus Christ as well as India." The article gives credit to the Home Minister for the following striking sentence: "Indians accept without reservation the doctrines enunciated by Christ in the sermon on the mount."

These publicly expressed assurances of India's leading statesmen have been greatly appreciated by the more than eight million citizens of India who profess the Christian religion. Lovers of religious freedom will hope that the principles of religious liberty set forth in India's Constitution will continue to be interpreted in such a way that all of India's people shall enjoy religious liberty under the protection of those in authority.



F. H. YOST PHOTO

St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, came to India more than nineteen hundred years ago. This is one of the many churches in India today that belong to the St. Thomas Christians.



Fighting an Uphill Battle

By WILLIAM A. COOK, Ph.D.

[Dr. Cook is a public educator of long experience. He is perhaps most widely known as the superintendent of schools in North College Hill, near Cincinnati, Ohio, when the public school system of that community came close to being made over into a parochial school system. Dr. Cook knows the immeasurable importance to the American way of life of a genuine separation of church and state.—ED.]

THE JEFFERSONIAN PHRASE "wall of separation between church and state" is almost a slogan in the United States today. But it suggests a static society, and therefore is highly inaccurate as a description of American life and government. It is the purpose of the writer to bring together here a number of facts that may better orient one's mind relative to the rugged fight for religious liberty now being waged in this country.

A few of the colonists came to the New World to make money, but economic advantage, history tells us, was weak or lacking in the motives of the great majority who left Europe for America before the American Revolution. Religious oppression was the force that drove them forth; religious liberty was the hope that led them on.

The societies from which these pioneers came had a common characteristic. The lack of religious freedom at home had stemmed from a union of church and state. Petty religious prejudice we doubtless shall long know throughout the world, but the environment that our fathers sought to escape was far worse than that. With them, the ruling element—kings, nobles, and even representatives of the people, or a combination of these—was in partnership with the church. Hence religious oppression went on steadily and cruelly generation after generation.

But several colonies gained religious freedom for themselves only. They excluded others from liberty's benefits, and established here the same type of society they had sought to escape at home: a unified church state. Of course the church they established politically was different from that of the country they had fled, but that fact held no relief for those of their number who fell away from their settled orthodoxy. However, in a few colonies, usually termed the Middle Colonies, so varied was the linguistic, national, and religious composition of the settlers that a theocracy was impossible, and church-state entanglements were kept to a minimum.

But in New England, as an illustration, the result of theocratic government was persecution of dissenters. Easily leading all other colonies in severity in the early years, Massachusetts decreed death to Friends and to Catholic priests, and to others as well,

for denial of the Bible, for idolatry, or for blasphemy. Time passed, and some relaxation came. For more timid nonconformists, a brief taste of physical discomfort was sufficient to swing them back into line. For those with the rugged fiber of a Roger Williams, exile from the colony was about the only remedy at hand. Of course, in those instances where hysteria arose, as in Salem witchcraft trials, the unhappy nonconformists lost their lives.

But as the Indians were killed off or driven back, and the spirit of adventure pitched people headlong into the wilderness, the closely knit town settlements upon which the church thrived were not moved west, and the churches lost influence. Then came into existence the "unchurched," who rose in number in the first half of the nineteenth century to over 80 per cent of the population. Civil government was recognized as necessary among the frontiersmen, but without settled churches there was no possibility of a church-state union.

Coincidental with the westward movement came influences and forces tending toward nationalization. Among these were the common enemy identified in the French and Indian Wars; the Congress of Albany; the gradually increasing trade restrictions imposed by the mother country. From the Calvinist of New England to the Cavalier of the South the striving for union emphasized the need for a revaluation of social and religious attitudes and practices. With this came the rising influence of the deists and freethinkers, as represented by Tom Paine in this country and Voltaire abroad. Gradually the removal of civil disabilities because of religious nonconformity gained ground. Religious persecution had about ended in the colonies by the time they became the United States.

From this stage we can trace developments by a series of civil documents epochal in American history. First was the Declaration of Independence. It contains only four references of a religious nature: "Nature's God," "are endowed by their Creator," "the Supreme Judge of the World," and "the Protection of divine Providence." No intolerant or denominational trace appears here.

Next came Madison's "Memorial and Remonstrance" and Jefferson's "Statute of Religious Freedom," both within months of each other. The first was a pamphlet, so well publicized that it defeated a proposal for assessments in aid of religion, introduced into the Virginia General Assembly by Patrick Henry in 1784. The enactment of the second,

Jefferson's statute, by the Virginia General Assembly in 1785 was regarded by Jefferson as a greater achievement than his election as President.

The acceptance of these two documents, separating church and state in Virginia, paved the way for a further development in the Federal Constitution. Unlike the Declaration of Independence, this great document contains no recognition even of a deity. Its only reference to religion is in the direction of church-state separation:

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

But the far-seeing Jefferson was not satisfied, and in the very year of the Constitutional Convention he wrote to Madison, "I do not like the omission of a bill of rights providing . . . for freedom of religion." Conventions of no less than six States, called to consider the Constitution, expressed a similar conviction. This caused Jefferson to suggest that when ratification by nine States had made the Constitution effective, the other four should refuse until a bill of rights was included.

Very soon after the new government was organized, the First Amendment was added to the Constitution. So far as it touches our present concern, the language is clear and complete:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The American practice of separating church and state by constitutional enactment swept speedily onward. New States forbade support of organized religion by government. Horace Mann led the fight to remove sectarian teaching from the public schools of Massachusetts. So many States had taken similar action voluntarily that Congress from 1876 on required every State, when admitted, to write into its constitution a requirement to maintain a school system free of sectarian control. In the meantime the Supreme Court of the United States had ruled repeatedly that the Fourteenth Amendment restrained both national and State legislatures from legislating against the rights set forth in the First Amendment. Theories that the First Amendment permits the State to aid all religions equally have been advanced, but the Supreme Court has never sanctioned that interpretation. Rather, it has held that no religion is to have State support, that the irreligious person must be protected as much as the religious, and that *separation means separation*.

The heavy stake that churches had acquired in education before the legal steps above described, meant a period of severe trial to the churches in the financial sense as the Nineteenth century wore on. As a result, from about 1840 many abortive attempts have been made to secure public funds for church schools. This so disturbed President Grant that, distrusting the effectiveness of State provisions, he advised a constitutional amendment prohibiting the use of public funds for sectarian education. A resolution to submit such an amendment was easily passed in the House, but failed of the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate.

The foregoing review of basic legal and constitutional steps and judicial decisions brings the issue down to the administrative level. What have we done in execution of the law? How straight have our chosen representatives walked in observance of the blueprint handed them? Had they done reasonably well, you would not be reading these lines. There has been failure to enforce the law, but it has not been due to the indifference or hostility of the majority. It has been due to the determined, untiring effort of a highly organized minority. This minority at times and places has included some Protestant groups, who upon deliberation usually saw the



A. DEVANEY
THIRD QUARTER

As the apostles of liberty have so often said, the battle for freedom is never fully won. Each generation must fight to hold the ground already gained, and to keep the enemies of liberty from taking from us our hard-fought victories. The fathers of each era must pass on to their children the torch of freedom, fully lighted, trimmed, and burning. We must be ever alert that the light never grow dim or go out while under our care. We do not want to revert to the Dark Ages of oppression. Keep the torch burning.

wrong of intrusion of the church upon the benefits of the state, and refused further to have a hand in it. An illustration is the decision of some large denominations to refuse any public aid for their hospitals, as made available by the Federal Hill-Burton Act. By far the majority of the violations of the letter and the spirit of church-state separation came from one direction: the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church.

The contest to stop illegal practices and to prevent others from developing must go on in three directions. First, the people must be alerted to the situation by a vast educational campaign through literature and public meetings, if success is to be attained in the face of five hundred or six hundred Catholic publications reaching regularly perhaps twenty million people.

Second, the issues must be carried through the courts. Court actions are under way in a dozen or more States now, including Kentucky and Pennsylvania, and further suits are anticipated in others. But two problems of procedure must be solved: (1) The necessary costs are staggering. (2) Many lawyers are not prepared to pay the price of accepting cases. Not only may they lose clients who have sectarian sympathies, but their standing in court with certain judges might be prejudiced in all cases. The opposition will have good lawyers, and we must match them. Last-minute changes of judges assigned to cases, changes of venue, continuances, dismissal of suits when their unfavorable termination is imminent, in order to prevent issuance of a court order that would create a precedent—all these devices are being used to delay or defeat a decision.

Third, the issues must be followed up through political avenues. Voters should go to the polls with as clear convictions as possible on the stand a candidate for office will take on tariff, labor, civil service, conservation, taxes, and a host of other issues. They should not close the eye to the stand he will take on problems of church-state relations.

Violations of church-state separation in the United States now occur under legal guise in—

1. Use of Federal money by sectarian groups for hospital construction.
2. Use of public money for—
 - a. Salaries of nuns in garb;
 - b. Transportation of children to nonpublic schools;
 - c. Provision of textbooks for nonpublic schools;
 - d. Rental of church buildings for school use.
3. Sectarian instruction in public schools.
4. Tax exemption of church-owned businesses, and unimproved real estates held for a period and sold at a profit.
5. Alteration of zoning regulations for church advantage, resulting in heavy damage to adjacent private property.

6. Sale of public land, school buildings, and hospitals (or leasing of the same) to church organizations, at millions of dollars loss to taxpayers.

7. Exemption of nuns from Federal income tax when teaching in public schools.

This outline of infractions, often upheld by State laws in clear violation of the First Amendment, shows that much ground has been lost in the last twenty years.

Extra-legal steps to limit religious freedom show in—

1. The banning of books, to intimidate publishers against material in the church-state field.
2. The pressure on merchants to keep under the counter well-known books on church-state relations.
3. The removal from active circulation of public library books on church-state relations.

Victories have been won, but the roots have penetrated too deep for sudden eradication. There seems little doubt that garbed nuns in central Kentucky taught the children of early Catholic settlers from the later eighteenth century on, first in private schools, and then, as soon as the State organized, in the public schools of those same communities. As Protestant population mixed with the Catholic in such areas, agreement has given way to discord and finally legal combat, with the end not in sight. A seedling planted in the morning can be plucked up by the fingers that afternoon, but an oak over a century old requires a bulldozer.

Violations of church-state separation in the United States are already of first significance for all who support religious freedom. They are further highlighted by current struggles in many countries of both hemispheres, with most current attention centering on Belgium and Argentina. Organized religions outside Christianity also have received state favors, and the end is always the same. As education and intelligence spread, dissatisfaction grows, and civil disorders even erupt into armed conflict. Finally, sad to observe, religion in general suffers, and the good service it renders society is eclipsed.

Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—Abraham Lincoln.

A Note From England

W. T. Williams, M.A., M.P., has accepted office as president of the Liberation Society, in succession to the late Dr. Henry Townsend. Mr. Williams, who is a barrister-at-law, has served as a chaplain and welfare officer of the Royal Air Force, and as a tutor in Manchester College, Oxford. He served as parlia-

mentary private secretary to two Ministries in 1950 and 1951.

The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control (to use its full name) was founded in 1844, with the object of securing equal rights and privileges for all religious bodies in England.

The Reverend F. C. White, 7 Windmill Avenue, Ewell, Epsom, Surrey, England, is secretary of the Liberation Society.

The Right of Private Judgment

By F. C. WHITE, B.D.

Secretary of the Liberation Society of England

THE GREAT SCHOLAR of a bygone generation, Henry Melvill Gwatkin, of Cambridge, England, writes in his article "The Reformation" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, "Any man may help us with example and spiritual counsel . . . but in the end we must know God for ourselves." The knowledge of God is something which we must ultimately arrive at individually. The Spirit of God may use various channels in imparting the knowledge of God to the individual mind and soul, but in the end the recipient of this knowledge must possess it for himself as his own.

This possession of truth for himself by the believer implies the duty of the individual to judge of spiritual truth. But if the individual is to be the judge himself, by what standard is he to judge? By his own opinion or other men's views? By tradition or dogma? The Reformers answered, "By the Scriptures," not as a repository of isolated texts used as buttresses for dogmas, but as a comprehensive whole, to be interpreted by sound learning illuminated by the Holy Spirit. It was the privilege of those learned in the Scriptures to help the ordinary man to understand the Bible for himself, but he must use his own judgment as guided by God in the acceptance of its teachings.

This right of private judgment was but the reassertion, at the time of the Reformation, of a principle which had been overlaid by the teaching and practices of the Roman Church.

There were of course always some who refused to allow the individual conscience to be overridden by authority, in the face of attempts made from the very start of the Christian church to silence the truth and stifle conviction. Early in the story of the Church's struggle for liberty of utterance we read of apostles asserting their responsibility, in matters of conscience, to God and not to man (Acts 4:13-20). During the

Middle Ages the rights of conscience in matters theological and practical were asserted by such varied characters as Wyclif, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Tauler. In a sense Luther was the heir of all these, from the apostles to the Hussites.

Protestants of today are heirs of the Reformation. People today little realize how much they owe to Protestantism. We read much about the suppression of individual opinion (or the expression of it) in countries dominated by Moscow or the Vatican. We rejoice in our freedom of expression, if not of action, in Western lands, but only too rarely do we remember the rock from which we have been hewn.

The chief difference in the conception of social order which ruled before Luther and after is that prior to the Reformation the individual was the passive recipient of rights bestowed upon him as privileges by authority, whether in church or state; whereas since the Reformation it has been increasingly recognized that, under God, authority in church or state rests finally upon the consensus of individual convictions. That is the meaning of democracy. Democracy is essentially Protestant in principle, and that is one reason why it is not understood and often disliked. It is true that Luther himself did not fully understand democracy, but his principles implied it, just as the principles of the New Testament involved an attitude to slavery and other evils not fully realized by the earliest believers.

In this, as in all other matters of faith and principle, the keystone is the Bible. At the heart of the

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—John Milton.



REVIEW PICTURES

P. A. LABOUCHE, ARTIST

The preachers of the Reformation were men of courage and conviction, who exercised the right of private judgment. They opened the doors to a new world, and although they did not know it then, to an era of democracies, and away from the autocracies of their day.

Reformation was the believer's attitude to the Scriptures. Prior to the Reformation men assented only to the interpretation of the Bible as given by the Medieval church. The reformers asserted the right of the individual believer to read and interpret the Bible for himself.

The Bible is a plain book. We do not deny that the Scriptures contain many things "hard to be understood," and that all men need the guidance of the Holy Spirit to a right knowledge and a true faith. But in all things necessary to salvation and conduct, the Scriptures use such plain and simple wording that all who can read can understand, and it is the duty of the believer to read the Bible for himself. The Bible itself makes this principle clear to the unprejudiced reader. We turn to the Old Testament and find that under the old covenant parents were commanded

to teach the law to their children; and one of the reasons why the holy oracles were committed to the people was that parents might themselves learn and then teach their children directly out of the Scriptures (Deut. 6:7; 11:19, etc). We turn to the New Testament. There in John 5:39, our Lord Himself says, "Search the scriptures; for . . . they are they which testify of me."

In Acts 17:11, the Bereans are specially commended because they "searched the scriptures daily, whether these things were so." What is that commendation but a tacit endorsement of the right and duty of private interpretation? In 2 Timothy 2:15, Paul writes, "Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." And so we might continue.

The Reformers refused to allow human agency or authority to come between them and God on the one hand, or between them and the Bible on the other hand.

There are of course dangers in individualism. May it not be that the revival of Catholicism during recent years has had some connection with an individualism which, leaving the intellect unsatisfied, found an authoritarian refuge for the bewildered soul? The Roman Church might fail in much of its propaganda, but for the sense of loneliness, intellectual and spiritual, which characterizes many a Christian believer. We need to combine private judgment with corporate thinking in order to arrive at a true understanding. But this does not imply, nor must it lead to, the compromise of convictions. It is conviction as well as opinion that is to be respected. And conviction is one aspect of the right of private judgment.

The apostle Paul refused to tolerate attempts to subject his fellow believers to dictation on the part of those who insisted on imposing their views on others. That is the argument of the whole of his letter to the Galatian churches, and is tersely summarized in the sentence in Colossians 2:16: "Let no man . . . judge you." The apostle himself refused to be judged by others (1 Cor. 4:3).

This applies to such matters as seventh-day or first-day worship. Whatever be the facts regarding the day of the week upon which early Christians worshiped, it was a typically authoritarian attitude on the part of Constantine when he decreed (A.D. 321) that Sunday must be observed as a day of worship, whether by Christians or pagans.

It is for a believer to follow the dictates of his conscience in all matters of religious observance. This is the right of private judgment, a vital exercise of religious liberty.

AS THE EDITORS SEE IT

The Virginia Declaration of Rights

THERE is now being celebrated at the famous colonial shrine, Williamsburg, Virginia, the 180th anniversary of the Virginia Declaration of Rights. This great document of freedom consisted of sixteen articles, of which George Mason wrote the first fourteen and Patrick Henry the last two.

Article One provided "that all men are by nature *equally* free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, *they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity*; namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." In succeeding articles he set down what it should mean to have in Virginia a government of free people.

Article 16, by Patrick Henry, provided "that religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other." The expression in Henry's original draft, "the fullest tolerance in the exercise of religion," James Madison so persistently and strongly opposed that the article was rewritten without the despised word "tolerance."

Said the great English Catholic historian Lord

Acton: "It was from America that the plain ideas that men ought to mind their own business, and that the nation is responsible to Heaven for the acts of the State—ideas long locked in the breast of solitary thinkers and hidden among Latin folios—burst forth like a conqueror upon the world they were destined to transform, under the title of the Rights of Man."

It is difficult to estimate the good effects of this declaration. That it had some effect upon Jefferson as he wrote the Declaration of Independence cannot be doubted. It is obvious that it was the legitimate father of the National Bill of Rights, which was incorporated in the Federal Constitution. It appeared almost verbatim in the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791. A single comparison of wording with the constitutions of other European nations adopted during the nineteenth century shows the debt that these countries owe to Mason's Bill of Rights.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the Americans who, in the days when our nation was being formed, set forth so clearly the rights which inherently belong to men because they are men.

F. H. Y.

Calendar Proposal Withdrawn

THE LARGE MAJORITY of replies received by the United Nations from the many governments in response to the secretary-general's request for their views on the proposed adoption of the World Calendar, manifested either disinterest or direct op-

position. The Netherland's reply said: "With a few exceptions the business world is indifferent in this respect as would seem apparent from a recent meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris when the Chamber declined to put this item on the agenda." Norway expressed apprehension that the advantages would not counterbalance "the difficulties of a practical nature in various fields." After consulting its national Astronomical Observatory, Mexico expressed the view there would be serious technical difficulties in implementing such change. Portugal said the proposed change would be "neither convenient nor desirable."

That the proponents of reform are either blind or deliberately indifferent to actual religious opposition can be deduced from their repeated assurances that religious opposition is confined to an insignificant minority, or as expressed by Sir Harold Spencer Jones, "The question of the calendar is primarily a civil matter. Religious calendars, such as the Jewish, Moslem, and Hindu, can exist alongside the civil calendar and be independent of it." Dr. Rajeshmar Dayal, of India said, the "proposal will not adversely affect the religious calendars of any sect." Yet such countries as Great Britain, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, Lebanon, Pakistan, Burma, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, France, Italy, Israel, and the United States gave religion as the major reason for their opposition. A number of these countries mentioned the disruption of the continuity of the weekly cycle as a serious fault in the proposed plan.

In the letter of April 14 to the Economic and Social Council, the International World Calendar Association said, "It is clear from these replies that many of the Governments would welcome further information on various aspects of this important question." They said further that under "these circumstances. . . it would be premature to discuss such a many-sided question. . . at the present session. We therefore request that . . . the item be withdrawn from the present agenda." The proponents apparently are of the opinion that what is needed among the nations is further "education." But additional propaganda will not change religious conviction. The question of calendar change was before the League of Nations in 1937. It was introduced before the United Nations in 1947. This makes the third unsuccessful attempt to induce the nations and religious bodies to adopt this proposed calendar change.

The response of the United States to the questionnaire from the United Nations is more pertinent than ever: "This Government holds that it would be inappropriate for the United Nations, which represents many different religious and social beliefs throughout the world, to sponsor any revision of the existing calendar that would conflict with the principles of important religious faiths.

"This Government further recommends that no

further study of the subject be undertaken. Such a study would require the use of manpower and funds which could be more usefully devoted to more vital and urgent tasks."

In the interest of both civil and religious liberty we believe that no further consideration should be given by the United Nations to the question, and that the calendar proponents would be well advised to discontinue their efforts.

A. H. R.

Independence Days

THE MONTHS COVERED by this issue of **LIBERTY: A Magazine of Religious Freedom** have been unkind to oppression. Witness the nations that celebrate anniversaries of independence during July, August, and September.

On July 4, 1776, the thirteen North American Colonies south of the St. Lawrence declared their independence from Great Britain, and proceeded to make the Declaration stick through seven years of difficult war. Shortly after the peace, there came the formation of a strong Federal Government, with separation of church and state a basic tenet, both in the minds of free Americans and in the written Constitution.

One hundred and seventy years later the Philippine Commonwealth was formed when the United States relinquished sovereignty over the Islands. With liberty, there came for the Filipinos constitutional recognition of what the United States, while in control, had maintained: religious liberty through separation of church and state.

French revolutionists captured the Bastille, in Paris, on July 14, 1789. With the fall and destruction of this ancient castle—a prison symbolic of all the ills that political and religious oppressions could produce—the French people were free. France is today one of the countries to be noted where, with the majority of the people Roman Catholic, there is full religious freedom.

The story of William Tell is famous in history, literature, and opera. On August 1, 1291, after amazing victories by the Swiss burghers over the mercenaries of the House of Hapsburg, rulers of the medieval Roman Empire, three German Alpine cantons formed a confederation, and the Republic of Switzerland was born. The Swiss are free today—free in politics, free from foreign entanglements, free in religion.

India, once an imperial domain of Great Britain, was liberated on August 15, 1947, and the two republics of India and Pakistan resulted directly. In these two countries, where religious belief and feeling are strong and tense, religious liberty is a fact. It has constitutional guarantees in India,¹ and is soon to have them in Pakistan.

Uruguay became free of Brazil on August 27, 1828.¹ Political liberty was soon accompanied by religious freedom. With the majority of the people Roman Catholic, Uruguay has been able, by enforcing separation of church and state, to achieve full freedom of religion.

On September 15, 1810, Mexico gained its freedom from Spain. What was attained was political freedom as to external control. Within the country, democratic principles have not in the past always been applied. In recent years a liberal government unseated the church from political control. In effecting the separation, the pendulum swung far, and the practice of religion below the Rio Grande is less than free. Genuine religious liberty is yet to be achieved.

The experience of the nations here memorialized teaches how important to political liberty is religious freedom. The two freedoms are reciprocal. Their relationship is vital. It is evident in more than one case that had religious liberty been promptly achieved, political freedom would have been the more quickly perfected. Independence days are significant to both civil and religious interests.

F. H. Y.

Calendar Trouble in Greece

CALENDAR TROUBLE still flares in Greece, thirty-two years after the Gregorian calendar officially replaced the Julian. The Orthodox Church has filed with the Minister of Cults a protest against the reopening of the Old Calendar sect churches throughout the country. This sect broke away from the Greek Church when the calendar change was made in 1923, and at that time had approximately one and one-half million adherents. In 1951 restrictive measures were taken ordering the arrest of the leaders of this sect, closing their churches and denouncing their services as illegal.

Greece was one of the last countries to adopt the Gregorian calendar, some 340 years after it was first proposed. The change made at that time was a simple one involving date only, yet thirty years later trouble still exists. From this example one can readily understand how cumulative would be the trouble if the proposed World Calendar were to be adopted by the nations of the earth. Its adoption would bring a perpetual yearly disruption of the weekly cycle, and this continuous change would seriously affect Mohammedan, Christian, and Jewish religious days, which are established on a fixed day of the week. These days would no longer be fixed, but would rotate backward through the week, changing one day each year and two days each leap year.

¹ See Mr. Ashlock's article in this issue.

² See *LIBERTY*, Fourth Quarter, 1950.

It is obvious that confusion, perplexity, and hardship would be multiplied manyfold.

A. H. R.

A Senate Subcommittee Reports

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the Hennings Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate on the Bill of Rights. The editors of *LIBERTY: A Magazine of Religious Freedom* have joined in the chorus of regrets that all oral hearings on the First Amendment, originally proposed by this Subcommittee, were cancelled. Now the Subcommittee has published a summary of the findings that came in on the questionnaires sent to a selected mailing list in the early days of the Subcommittee's life. The report as given by the Religious News Service follows:

Washington, D.C. (RNS)—Eighty per cent of 2,020 members of the general public who replied to a Senate questionnaire reported that they had "observed significant instances" in recent years of denials of religious freedom.

However, only 28 per cent of more than 900 political scientists who answered said they had noted infractions of religious rights.

The questionnaire was distributed by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, headed by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.).

In a 50-page report, Miss Laura M. Sharp of the Bureau of Social Science Research of American University here, the tabulating agency, told the Senators it appeared that about one-third of the "general public" who sent in answers were Christian Scientists who considered fluoridation of municipal water supplies a violation of their religious freedom.

A large number also were members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect who complained of discriminatory acts by government agencies, she reported.

Members of a fundamentalist Mormon sect, Miss Sharp said, answered the question, "Have you observed any significant instances of a denial of rights expressed in the religion clause [of the First Amendment]?" by citing laws prohibiting polygamy.

Miss Sharp also reported that a number of Lutherans and Roman Catholics saw a violation of religious freedom in what they termed government discrimination against private and religious schools, particularly in matters of public health services and bus transportation.

Violations of the religious clause of the First Amendment cited by the political scientists, most of them members of the American Political Science Association, included: federal aid to private religious schools; the employment of religiously-garbed nuns as public school teachers; compulsory Bible reading in schools; anti-birth control legislation; and the exemption from taxation of property owned by religious organizations.

A few objected to the use of the declaration "In God We Trust" on United States currency and to the phrase, "one nation under God" in the pledge of Allegiance to the flag.

Seventy-nine per cent replied in the affirmative to the question, "Do you consider that the U.S. Supreme Court is correct in interpreting the religion clause in conjunction with the Fourteenth Amendment as constituting a prohibition against acts by the Federal Government?"

Four hundred and eighty-one of the scientists said they regarded the phrase "make no law respecting an establish-

ment of religion" as a "prohibition against any direct or indirect aid to churches or religious sects."

It will be noted with interest that the violations of the religion clause of the First Amendment were noted largely in the field of some sort of Government aid to organized religion and the forcing of some sort of religious doctrine or practice upon the public. A large number of those sending in the questionnaire believed that the First Amendment forbids "direct or indirect aid to churches or religious sects."

Note will also be made of the fact that special interest groups pointed out violations of the First Amendment that touch upon their particular views. This is to be expected in a society like that in the United States, with so many minority groups. Indeed, it is possible that without the alert concern of minority groups for liberties closely affecting them, rights essential to a free society might be lost sight of.

F. H. Y.

Judge Ridicules Blue Law

MAGISTRATE CHARLES SOLOMON, of New York City, cleared twenty-five accountants who pushed their pencils on the twenty-fourth floor of an otherwise deserted Wall Street skyscraper on a Sunday morning. The judge said they "in no way disturbed the religious repose" of people who were observing Sunday.

"If the law was violated here," Magistrate Charles Solomon ruled in Lower Manhattan Court, "the lawyer and his stenographer at work in his office on Sunday in the preparation of a case for trial, the judge catching up with his work in his chambers on Sunday aided by his stenographer, the librarian at work on Sunday—all these are Sabbath breakers? Nonsense! Motion granted. Case dismissed."

According to the New York *Herald Tribune* under date of March 15, "Magistrate Solomon, who when he was a newspaper man worked on Sundays, assailed the Sunday Blue law as 'a statutory crazy quilt.' He noted that the law prohibits all labor on Sunday 'excepting the works of necessity and charity.' Then he cited 'special groups' with exemptions, such as professional baseball, theaters, bowling and bowling tournaments."

For centuries the Sunday laws of medieval times were administered by the ecclesiastical, not the civil, courts of Europe. The laws governing Sunday observance were regarded as religious laws by the courts of Europe. To call a Sunday law a civil law is a misnomer. Sunday is basically a religious institution. If the Sunday laws were genuinely civil laws, they would not prohibit things right in themselves, for the protection of religious obligations that have no sanction except in church creeds. There can be no true separation of church and state as long as religious

practices are sanctioned in law and enforced by law, and minority groups, which refuse to conform to religious observances established by the civil government, are penalized.

C. S. L.

A Compulsive Conformist

ACCORDING TO BULLFINCH'S MYTHOLOGY, there was once upon a time, among the "evildoers and monsters" who "oppressed the country," a giant by the name of Procrustes, that is, "the Stretcher." He haunted the roads, and wherever he could he seized travelers, placed them on an iron bedstead, and then proceeded to stretch them or cut them down to make them fit the bed. If they were too short, he would stretch their limbs. If they were too long, he would lop off a little to make them fit.

Procrustes was not only a conformist, he was a compulsive conformist. He would make everyone else fit his pattern.

In this machine age we are accustomed to iron-clad specifications of exactness. Machines are geared to turn out products according to measurement. Machinists talk about "tolerances" of one thousandth of an inch or less.

Very well for machines. But men are not machines. What makes men men, rather than machines, is just what produces differences among men. Machines cannot differ. Men must.

These differences among men are not to be tolerated. They are to be expected; they are to be taken for granted; they are to be accepted as a demonstration of the right of men to be men.

Procrustes, the compulsive conformist, was a myth. May he not have a twentieth-century incarnation.

F. H. Y.

Don't Disappoint Them

SOME TIME AGO there came to our desk a copy of a letter sent to a legislator, protesting against a proposed piece of Sunday legislation, which, no matter how we view it, is religious legislation. The writer came from Europe, and is now a naturalized citizen of the United States. The letter speaks for itself:

"DEAR SIR:

"My wife and children and I came to this country by choice, because we thought the United States of America a country of freedom of religion. Now we learn that some religious groups are trying to make a Sunday law. . . .

"It is our conviction that no legislature should have anything to do with religious laws, which can make this country a land of oppression like others in the Old World. As before let people worship God as they choose and on the day they choose.

"The good principle of freedom of religion made America strong and will keep America strong."

F. H. Y.

The State and Sectarian Rites

A REVIVAL OF SNAKE CULTISTS in the mountains of the Kentucky-Virginia border is again in the news. From time to time these people have made the headlines and brought religion, in a dubious setting, into the limelight. The idea is that if a cultist can wrap poisonous snakes around his head and have them crawl over his arms and shoulders without being bitten, or, if bitten, without dying from the venom, he is a man of great faith and spiritual merit.

Our concern with this matter is neither theological nor physiological. Here we are taxed with the interesting question as to when the state may interfere in a religious practice that threatens the physical safety of the citizens of a community.

It is no uncommon thing to read in the constitutions of European states that there shall be religious liberty, provided the peace of the community is maintained. A typical statement of this sort drawn from the constitution of the State of California reads: "The liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State."

The Federal Constitution ignores this specific area of state-church relationships. It merely provides that there shall be no religious test imposed to hold public office, and that there shall be no legislation concerning "the establishment of religion, or the free exercise thereof."

Government in the United States does, and of right must, deal with issues touching upon the safety, morals, health, and general welfare of the citizen. But it is careful how it intrudes upon religious sentiments and practices. Men are drafted into the armed forces of the United States for public safety's sake, but the plea of conscientious objectors is given consideration. When Utah asked admittance into the Union, Congress specified that the basic law of the state-to-be must forbid polygamy, as against public morals, up to then permitted by the Church of Latter-Day Saints in Utah. But government has moved cautiously in the realms of public morals. Vaccination is required by law, but exercise of the law allows for the scruples of those who do not believe in this method of meeting disease.

In the case of the snake cultists, there is a conflict between the freedom of a man to be religious the way he wants to be, and the necessity the state is under of protecting citizens from harm and danger. Here is a borderline requiring close reasoning. But it can scarcely be maintained that religious liberty grants to a man the right to risk taking his own life, or that of others, in the name of religion.

The authorities of Virginia and Kentucky have been cautious in dealing with the snake cultists. Actually, reports indicate that whatever there may be in their rites that demonstrates a faith of sorts, there is also a hunger for publicity. The authorities will not cater to this appetite.

F. H. Y.

BOOKS

Bloody Mary, by Theodore Maynard

Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1955.
Price, \$4.95.

The sixteenth century was encumbered with strong men whose stentorian voices shook the world and whose actions were violent. There were also ladies in those times: Renata of Ferrara; Jeanne d'Albret, the mother of Henry IV of France; and Marguerite D'Angouleme, author of Protestant hymns and of the Heptameron, who failed to curb the extravagance of her brother, Francis I. And there was Diane de Poitiers and Catherine of Medici, whose name is linked with St. Bartholomew's Eve. In England gifted women were drawn into the vortex of affairs: the ill-fated Catherine of Aragon, Elizabeth Tudor, Jane Grey, and especially Bloody Mary. Of

all these women, the last had the worst reputation, and the epithet "bloody" has labeled her as the most ruthless and the most fanatically Catholic sovereign of England.

Mr. Maynard, the author of the current *Bloody Mary*, is a Catholic, and repeatedly expresses the conviction that the opponents of Mary, religiously speaking, were in the wrong, but he also points out the weaknesses of his heroine. One of the author's aims is to indicate that Mary was much misunderstood and maligned. He emphasizes that Mary was by nature "of extraordinary honesty and notable for her personal kindness," an exceptionally good woman; indeed, the saintly, and the unusually devoted and loving wife of a cold, calculating Spanish king. By comparison, King Henry VIII, Mary's father, was a spendthrift; thoughtless, extravagant, false; a burly, bearded monster.

Of interest in this book are the descriptions of the English leaders: Cranmer is repeatedly praised for his wonderful literary and artistic skill; Latimer, witty and racy, as primarily a social reformer; while Ridley and Hooper are represented as extreme Protestants, the forerunners of Puritanism.

Mary as queen had no intention of persecuting. Her only ambition was to restore the Catholic confession and friendly relationships with the pope. In fact, Mary was tolerant and hopeful of a religious truce. Of all people and in those times, she issued a *proclamation of toleration for Protestants and Catholics*. Her trouble was personal weakness and a too conciliatory spirit; she forgave too readily. The author insists that Mary was considerate, charitable, and of unaffected goodness; that "nobody was less of an autocrat"; that "at worst she was tactless" and not always logical.

Mary is by historical definition "bloody" because she is the sovereign who burned more Protestants than any other English monarch. In discussing the fires of Smithfield, Mr. Maynard takes the twofold position of condemning the executions by stating that "all" Catholics now regard this action "not merely as a mistake in judgment but also as a great wrong," and at the same time offering various arguments that he hopes will extenuate Mary's reprehensible conduct.

For one thing he states that the burning of heretics was not a Catholic monopoly; a statement that is certainly neither new nor controverted by Protestant historians. The fact is that capital punishment was meted upon heretics by both parties: Anne Askew was executed by Henry VIII, and Joan Bocher by Edward VI, while the mild Cranmer burned several heretics. Of course reference is made to the classic case of Calvin with Servetus, as well as John Knox, who stated that "it is not only lawful to punish to death such as labor to subvert the true religion, but the magistrates and the people are bound to do so." One of the arguments the author uses is that the laws were enacted by Parliament; therefore, Parliament, not Mary, was responsible. We can retort that, similarly, not Calvin but the Little Council of Geneva decreed the penalty of death upon Servetus. But with such technicalities we can hardly remove the moral responsibility from either Calvin or Mary Tudor. Another person responsible for the executions was Philip of Spain, Mary's husband. Indeed, most historians and the author have been forced to accept this verdict, holding that Philip's share of responsibility was considerable. Above all, the church's responsibility cannot be argued away.

Mary is painted here as the saintliest of women and yet responsible for the death of hundreds of Protestant martyrs. This is a mystery that the author has not solved, in spite of his honest and skillful effort to think and write without prejudice.

This book, while not disclosing any new historical facts, brings vividly to mind the conditions in an age of crass religious intolerance. It also signalizes the over-all intolerance in human nature. The sixteenth century was religiously intolerant. Other eras show social prejudice and still others are politically intolerant. The book proves once more the need for aiming at freedom of conscience and thought.

DANIEL WALTHER
Washington, D.C.

A Threesome on Academic Freedom

Academic Freedom in Our Time, by Robert W. MacIver

New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Since 1951 Dr. MacIver has been research director of the American Academic Freedom Project conducted at Columbia University under the sponsorship of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation. This project has resulted in two volumes, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*, by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, and the volume under consideration in this review. The stated purpose of Dr. MacIver's work is to present "an analysis of the contemporary situation and a study of the problems it presents, against a background designed to bring out the significance of academic freedom and its relation to the society in which we live" (p. vi).

The author defines academic freedom as a "right claimed by the accredited educator, as teacher and as investigator, to interpret his findings and to communicate his conclusions without being subjected to any interference, molestation, or penalization because these conclusions are unacceptable to some constituted authority within or beyond the institution" (p. 6). An educational institution is interpreted as "a community of older and younger scholars, united in the common enterprise of learning and alike requiring certain opportunities, certain freedoms, for its pursuit" (p. 10).

Part one of this volume is entitled "The Climate of Opinion." The pragmatic trend in American thinking is mentioned as a trend that tends to make education instrumental and utilitarian. The author believes that America is experiencing a "wave of intolerance" against individuals of liberal tendencies. He expresses the belief that proper safeguards should be set up against Communist infiltration, but he maintains that Communist influence in American educational institutions is very limited. He believes that some of the legislative committees that have been set up to check subversive activities have "violated the rules of decent and dignified investigation" (p. 49).

The second section of the book is entitled "Academic Government and Academic Freedom." The author compares American procedures of academic government with those in Europe, where faculties are virtually self-governing. He points out that the American system makes the university more subject to group opinion.

Part three is entitled "The Lines of Attack on Academic Freedom." These lines of attack are identified as economic, religious, and social tradition. The author insists that the university, like the state, should be guided by principles of religious freedom. To be specific, the pacifist should not be dismissed from an institution of higher learning because he is a pacifist.

Dr. MacIver declares that "anyone who accepts without important reservations the methods and policies characteristic of the [Communist] Party was not a fit and proper person for an academic position" (p. 169). Yet he points out "the perils of the purge," and he urges that each case must be decided on its own merits. He makes a distinction between the propagandist and the teacher who holds Communism as a private faith.

The author feels that denominational institutions of higher learning suffer a certain limitation of academic freedom, but admits that "denominational institutions have played an important part in preparing the way for academic freedom." He states further that "the struggle for the freedom of religion had to be won before other freedoms, including academic freedom, could be attained" (p. 289).

The book as a whole is readable and informative. The author is moderate in dealing with political questions, and runs the risk of criticism for not taking a more uncompromising stand regarding Communism. It could be desired by many that he might admit the possibility of knowledge above and beyond the discoveries of human research. The value of the work extends beyond the specific field of academic freedom to the wider field of American educational trends and objectives.

The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States, by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger

New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

This is the companion volume of Robert M. MacIver's *Academic Freedom in Our Time*. The work is organized under two headings: "The Age of the College," referring to the development of higher education largely under religious patronage before the Civil War; and "The Age of the University," describing the development of the large universities since the Civil War.

It is obvious throughout the book that the authors

are secular and anticlerical in their viewpoint. They miss no opportunities to point out bigotry and religious intolerance, and it must be admitted there are plenty of examples of such bigotry. The work gives evidence of a great deal of research. The tone is scholarly, and a sincere endeavor at fairness seems to be evident.

An excellent survey is given of the European background of the university, with emphasis on the struggle between an authoritative church and freedom of thought. The relationship between academic freedom and religious freedom is defined as follows: "As modern science and modern liberal politics may be said to have provided the conceptual models for the positive content of academic freedom, tolerance and religious liberty may be said to have cleared the ground for it by eliminating or moderating its most formidable obstacle, notably the union between church and state. Academic freedom and religious freedom have one root in common: both are based upon the freedom of conscience, however, neither can flourish in a community that has no respect for human individuality" (p. 62).

The authors trace in considerable detail the history of early American education. They describe the metamorphosis of Harvard from a bulwark of Puritan orthodoxy to a center of liberal thought. They outline the struggles of the church-sponsored colleges of Colonial days against the inroads of secularism. Of course, from the viewpoint of the authors, the triumph of secularism was a victory for academic freedom. "From the outset the severely denominational institutions neither aspired to nor pretended to foster academic freedom; and very commonly—although not universally—their teachers lived and worked placidly within this framework" (p. 210). There seems to be a failure in this book to explore with open mind the possibility of a wholesome academic freedom within the boundaries of sincere Christian commitment. Just as the dictates of law and order in a stable society impose limitations on academic freedom, so the fundamental postulates of Christian faith should condition the thinking of a Christian scholar without subjecting him to the accusation of intellectual dishonesty or obscurantism. In the name of the same academic freedom they should be less caustic in dealing with men as honest as they who accept the presuppositions of the Christian commitment.

The following quotation regarding the relationship between academic and religious freedom is well stated: "Of course, neither civil liberty nor religious liberty is identical with academic freedom, for they affect the lives of all citizens directly; academic freedom is an immediate concern chiefly of the teacher in his professional capacity. However, both of these more inclusive rights are at points broadly analogous to academic freedom, and together they provided the

historical matrix of the concept of academic liberties. Long before college presidents and professors used the phrase 'academic freedom' they were invoking the spirit of tolerance, the right of conscience, freedom of speech or the press, the clauses of college charters against discrimination" (p. 262).

Academic Freedom, by Russell Kirk

Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955.

Mr. Kirk has become known as a champion of conservatism. Two other books from his pen are *The Conservative Mind* and *A Program for Conservatives*. In the volume under consideration, the conservative viewpoint is applied to the problems of academic freedom.

Mr. Kirk deals thoughtfully with the present-day political involvements of academic freedom. His premise is that scholars should have a status comparable to the "benefit of clergy" of earlier days. Borrowing a term from Coleridge, he would call this status "benefit of clerisy," which he defines as those persons who are the guardians of knowledge. He warns against abuses of this freedom in the form of indoctrination and subversion. He states that "members of the clerisy may commit abuses for which they deserve to be expelled from the clerisy" (p. 115). He adds that "limitations may be imposed upon academic freedom for the sake of preserving academic freedom" (p. 117).

Regarding the relation of the state and the university, the author believes that the state should ordinarily refrain from dominating institutions of learning, and that schools should abstain from preoccupation with politics. "The State and Academy should live in separate houses" (p. 141).

Only when education becomes obviously subversive should the state interfere. In harmony with this principle, a judicious investigation of schools and education may be in order. Regarding Communists the author says, "If there were no Russia, these people might be harmless enough, but there is a Russia" (p. 144).

In his closing chapter, Mr. Kirk stresses again his concern for genuine learning. He expresses the fear that a yearning for security is tending to counterbalance vigorous thinking. "The number of persons genuinely desirous of freedom of thought and expression in our society . . . is dangerously small" (p. 165). Academic freedom becomes a mockery without a real devotion to learning.

The abiding value of this book consists largely in the author's depth of insight. Unshaken by ephemeral trends, he holds to basic values. He senses the responsibility of education in being worthy of freedom, as well as the responsibility of society in granting freedom. His approach is spiritual rather than materialistic, profound rather than pragmatic, substantial rather than superficial.

NORVAL F. PEASE
Riverside, California

IT SO HAPPENED —

UNITED STATES

Bible Reading

In response to a resolution adopted by the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs asking education authorities to provide a Bible study course in the public schools, the State superintendent of public instruction told the convention that the department has "no authority to require," much less to establish, a course of Bible study in the schools.

Calendar Reform

Because of the opposition manifested by many governments in their replies to a recent questionnaire on calendar reform sent out by the United Nations, the International World Calendar Association proposed that the item be removed from the present

agenda of the Economic and Social Council. By 15 votes to none, with 3 abstentions, the Council decided to put over *sine die* consideration of the plan for a reform of the Gregorian Calendar.

Education

The planning committee of the White House Conference on Education has recommended to President Eisenhower that basic health and safety services be available at public expense to pupils attending religious and other private schools. The auxiliary services that would be available under this recommendation would be such as hot lunches, certain medical services, and bus transportation. It appears that this recommendation stems from the strong sentiments that existed among some of the delegates, rather than from the majority.

The South Burlington, Vermont, School Board

has instituted action in the State supreme court, aimed at forcing the board of education to grant financial aid to local districts for students attending private and parochial schools. The suit is a test case for 95 other Vermont communities that have lost grants in aid as a result of the attorney general's recent ruling prohibiting the use of tax funds for such assistance.

Hospitals

To a Roman Catholic order, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Missouri, has been given without payment of any type a "surplus" Marine hospital, formerly operated by the United States Public Health Service. The city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and the city of Kirkwood, in which suburb the institution is situated, all made application for the property, but preference was shown for the religious order. The building was but 16 years old, and within 12 miles of its site the Government is at the present time building a new institution.

Sunday Laws

More than 300 Orthodox, Conservative, and Reformed rabbis urged Mayor Robert F. Wagner to protect the rights of the Jewish citizens of New York City by requesting an amendment of the Sunday law. In a telegram to the mayor, the rabbis proposed that the State legislature amend the city charter so as to allow Sabbath-observing Jewish merchants to open their stores on Sunday, provided they do not disturb the neighborhood. Catholics have opposed bills in the current legislature that would have allowed what the rabbis have asked for.

Miscellaneous

Saudi Arabian law forbids the holding of public worship services of other than the Moslem faith. It also forbids the Jews to enter the country. Because of this the state department, "as a matter of policy," has stated that Christian services will not be advertised and the servicemen of Jewish faith will not be assigned to serve at the Dhahran air force base. Arabia is a sovereign country, and may make its own domestic laws whether they are or are not in principle agreeable to other nations.

BRAZIL

The ban that was imposed by the Brazilian Government last July on the showing of the motion picture *Martin Luther* has been lifted, according to Robert E. A. Lee, executive secretary of Lutheran Church Productions, Inc. He further states that the rescinding of the ban is "a courageous step . . . in the

constant pursuit of man's freedom for expression." The Brazilian press became aroused when they learned through news reports in the United States that the government of Brazil had imposed the ban, and they urged that the situation be corrected.

CANADA

The Council of Jewish Organizations in Hamilton, Ontario, has asked the Canadian Jewish Congress to register firm protest against the sectarian practice in Ontario public schools of permitting ministers of the gospel to enter the classroom, in clerical garb, to teach religious doctrine. While this practice may prevail in certain grades only, it does bring to some pupils the perplexity of listening to or accepting teachings to which they, or their parents, are opposed.

EGYPT

The following clauses, taken from the new constitution of Egypt, pertain to religious liberty:

Preamble: "We, the Egyptian people . . . assured of freedom of thought and worship in an atmosphere where there are no dictates save those of conscience and reason . . ."

Article 3: "Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic is its official language."

Article 5: "The State guarantees liberty, security, safety and equality of opportunity for all Egyptians."

Article 31: "Equality of all Egyptians is established by law. They are equal in respect of rights and obligations without discrimination on account of race, origin, language, religion or creed."

Article 43: "Freedom of worship is unrestricted. The State guarantees free religious practices in accordance with established usage in Egypt providing this does not conflict with public order and morality."

NORWAY

The leaders of Norway's Free Churches have withdrawn their support of a parliamentary bill proposing "full religious freedom and nonconfessional instruction" in the school. They have urged instead that the Lutheran confessional character of religious education be retained in the public schools.

GREECE

An investigation of the alleged police persecution of the Greek Evangelical community at Neos Mylotopos, Macedonia, has been ordered by Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis. Because the police had barred the doors of the Evangelical worship center,

the funeral of one of its laymen had to be held outdoors. The Prime Minister has directed the police commander in central Macedonia to conduct an inquiry and to see that the Evangelicals are permitted to hold services and meetings without disturbance.

PAKISTAN

After eight years of discussion Pakistan, an independent unit in the British Commonwealth and almost 86 per cent Moslem, has adopted a new constitution, which includes the guarantee of religious freedom. It assures every citizen the right to profess, practice, and propagate any religion, subject, of course, to public order, morality, and law. "Every religious denomination and every sect thereof has the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions." There is to be no discrimination in tax exemption, and assurance is given to minority groups that their rights will be recognized and respected. Christian leaders have hailed the draft as "comparing favorably with some of the best constitutions of the modern world."

SPAIN

The Spanish Ambassador, José M. de Areilza, in commenting upon religious liberty conditions in Spain, acknowledged that "there exists in Spain today the natural desire to avoid that it become a Protestant mission camp, . . . because, if the Catholic Church believes it professes the true religion, why should it be subjected to adverse propaganda to rob it of its faith? . . . Our Catholicism is like all Catholicism—intolerant in dogmatic principles."

Islam is not to be the official religion of the new African Republic of Sudan, according to its Foreign Minister, Mubarak Zarrouk. Even though the majority of the population is Mohammedan, a separation of church and state is to be in effect. This will permit the citizens to accept any religious faith.

A bill was introduced in Parliament by Rolf Edberg, Social Democratic Party representative, proposing an inquiry into the "forms of and foreseeable results of" disestablishing the Swedish State Lutheran Church. The Free Church daily newspaper, the *Svenska Morgonbladet*, endorsed the idea of a study, but hoped that it would be completely objective and not aimed directly at the future separation of church and state.



LIBERTY

Liberty is a necessity for all men. But liberty will not maintain itself. Men must join their interests to preserve it. Make **LIBERTY: A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM** your agent in fighting for freedom for you. **LIBERTY** knows only one doctrine: freedom of soul.

Send **LIBERTY** to five of your friends NOW. They need **LIBERTY**. Enter their names and addresses on the form below. When sending in more names, you may attach an additional sheet of paper containing names and addresses.

International Religious Liberty Association:

Please send **LIBERTY: A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**, published in the nation's capital:

To

Street

City Zone State

To

Street

City Zone State

To

Street

City Zone State

To

Street

City Zone State

To

Street

City Zone State

Rates:

One year, \$1.25 each ☐ Special, 5 subs to separate addresses, \$4.00 ☐ Three years, one address, only \$2.50 ☐ Enclosed find
Check ☐ Money order ☐ Currency ☐

Send your order to the

International Religious Liberty Association

6840 Eastern Avenue, Washington 12, D.C.



FOLDES, FROM MONKMEYER

LET US HAVE PEACE

THESE words have special significance when seen in New York City on the tomb of General Grant, who commanded the Union troops when the War Between the States came to a close in 1865. While the cannons had been roaring and the sky had been blackened by the fury of battle, men, snatched from their peaceful homes, wearing the habiliments of soldiers, had been trained to deal death and misery upon an enemy they could not even always see.

The leaders of the opposing forces met in quiet rendezvous. Terms were signed to bring the conflict to a close. How welcome to the soldiers was the command to cease fire! Fatigued and war-weary, the armies received with joyous enthusiasm the last command, "Let us have peace."

To prosper, nations need peace. Granted that war may stimulate industry and invention, peace is needed for their development.

Freedom needs peace. Wars have been fought for liberty. The terms upon which liberty has been established have sometimes had to be written in blood. But liberty needs peace for its fostering and development.

Let us have peace.





A Huguenot Memorial

This memorial was unveiled in 1948 as a tribute to the French settlers in South Africa. It commemorates their landing in 1687 as refugees from the religious oppression of their homeland. They came looking for freedom of religion. The monument stands in the little village of French Hoek at the head of Paarl Valley, one of the most fertile sections in South Africa. Here most of the descendants of the Huguenot settlers are now living.

